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Near East & South Asia

INDIA

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30 December 1991

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International Affairs

Visit of State Department's Bartholomew Reported

92AS0365A Bombay THE SUNDAY TIMES OF INDIA
in English 24 Nov 91 pp 1, 26

[Article: "U.S. Pushes for N-Free (Nuclear-Free) Zone; India Agrees To N-Talks With Pakistan"]

[Text] New Delhi, November 23. India has agreed to consider certain U.S. suggestions on confidence-building measures with Pakistan on the nuclear weapons issue, official sources said today, according to UNI.

The suggestions were made by the U.S. assistant secretary of state for international security affairs, Mr. Reginald Bartholomew, during his talks yesterday with the external affairs minister, Mr. Madhavsinh Solanki and the foreign secretary, Mr. Muchkund Dubey.

The suggestions were in the context of the U.S. desire for a five-nation agreement to make South Asia a nuclear free zone.

The proposal for a south Asia nuclear weapons free zone (NWFZ) first put forward by the Pakistan Prime Minister, Mr. Nawaz Sharif, involves India, China, Pakistan, the United States and the Soviet Union.

The sources said India reiterated its objections to a regional approach on nuclear weapons freeze and voiced its opposition to signing a Non-Proliferation Treaty [NPT] but agreed to consider the suggestions made by Mr. Bartholomew to build mutual confidence between India and Pakistan on the nuclear issue.

An official spokesman said the Indian side had conveyed to the U.S. official that it had reservations on the issue of a Nuclear Weapons Free Zone (NWFZ) and on signing the nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT).

He said Mr. Bartholomew had shown the U.S. administration's keenness to see "forward movement" on both these issues.

The spokesman said Mr. Bartholomew's visit was in the broader framework of India's improving relations with the United States and the discussions underlined the mutual recognition of the importance of this trend towards widening and more meaningful ties.

The discussions were extremely frank and "all issues, including those on which we do not necessarily agree, came up," he added.

The spokesman said Mr. Bartholomew briefed the Indian side on the U.S. secretary of state, Mr. James Baker's visit to China whom he had accompanied.

India, in turn, gave an account of its relations with China and the trend towards improvement in the ties in the last two and a half years since the then prime minister, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi's visit to Beijing.

Mr. Bartholomew expressed happiness and satisfaction over the improvement in Sino-Indian relations and hoped the Chinese premier, Mr. Li Peng's visit to Delhi next month would present both countries with another opportunity to carry this relationship forward.

The two sides also discussed the issue of chemical weapons in the context of the ongoing close co-operation between India and the United States at the Convention on chemical weapons in Geneva.

They expressed satisfaction with the manner of this co-operation. India gave the U.S. officials an account of the discussions on chemical weapons with Pakistan at the last round of foreign secretary-level talks in Islamabad recently.

India said it would be happy to sign a bilateral agreement on chemical weapons with Pakistan even before the signing of the world convention, now expected to be signed in June next year.

India was also prepared for a joint declaration with Pakistan in this regard as a confidence-building measure and sign a bilateral treaty if necessary, the U.S. side was told.

According to official sources, India has instructed its mission in Geneva to work closely with the United States in sorting out the procedural aspects of the world convention on chemical weapons.

Briefing the Indian side about his visit to Islamabad before arriving in New Delhi, Mr. Bartholomew said he had listened to the Pakistani leaders' point of view on Kashmir but made it clear that the U.S. position was that the matter should be resolved bilaterally by India and Pakistan in the context of the Simla Agreement.

Mr. Solanki told him about the recent visit to Delhi by Pakistan Prime Minister, Mr. Nawaz Sharif's special envoy, Mr. Shahryar Khan.

He said during that visit, both sides had agreed that it was desirable to scale down their defence expenditure.

Mr. Solanki recalled that Mr. Khan had given assurance of a significant change in Pakistan's attitude and a difference in the ground situation. India was still waiting for any such change, he told Mr. Bartholomew.

The U.S. undersecretary of state said he had done some "direct and deliberate" talking on this issue with Pakistan and urged it not to be tempted to provide aid and sustenance to terrorists.

Mr. Bartholomew said he fully appreciated that such abetment of terrorism did lead to heightened tension between India and Pakistan.

This might also have impact on the security situation in the region, he said and urged India to engage in a bilateral dialogue with Pakistan to sort out this issue.

Reportage on Indo-U.S. Business Council Meeting**Planning Official, Section Heads Speak**

92AS0360A Madras *THE HINDU* in English
20 Nov 91 p 7

[Article by *THE HINDU* special correspondent: "Clarify Stand on Major Trade Issues: U.S."; boldface words, quotation marks as published]

[Text] New Delhi, Nov. 19. Mr. Donald M. Kendall, Chairman, U.S. section of the Indo-U.S. Joint Business Council, has expressed the hope that India had the potential to grow from the world's largest democracy to world's greatest economy. But before anything of that kind happened it would have to clarify its stand on five major issues which, in the opinion of Mr. Kendall, were the real stumbling blocks.

First, "Is India a difficult place to do business because of bureaucracy, regulations and red tape? Despite the new policies and reforms, this remains the perception." Second, "Is India interested only in importing technology and exporting its own products without opening its market to outsiders? Many believe this to be so." Third, "Are there continuing problems with India's refusal to meet international standards for the protection of patents, trademarks and copyrights? This is also widely perceived, particularly by the members of the U.S. Congress." Fourth, "Did India resist efforts to control the export of technology used to create highly destructive weapons? Some point to evidence suggesting that the answer is yes." Finally, "Did India play an obstructive, sometimes recalcitrant role during the Uruguay Round of GATT [General Agreement on Trade and Tariffs] negotiations? Many U.S. officials say so."

Addressing the 14th meeting of the Council here today, Mr. Kendall said the policy reforms carried out by India especially relating to cutting the budgetary deficit, allowing 51 percent foreign equity, automatic clearance of projects etc. augured well and were reflective of the market, friendly policies being followed by the new Government.

'Resist protectionism': Mr. Kendall said India had shown how quickly important changes could be made to happen and "the world's most protected domestic economy was now less so." The international media should be increasingly kept abreast of India's new policies and reforms. Calling for openly resisting protectionist tendencies, he said others should also be convinced that an open market economy supported the long-term interest of the people. It was at this point he listed the five major issues on which he wanted a clarification from India.

More open economy: Earlier, in his inaugural address, the Deputy Chairman, Planning Commission, Mr. Pranab Mukherjee, said India's commitment to structural reforms was irrevocable and in the coming years the economy would become even more open. He assured the U.S. delegation that all relevant policy measures to make

the economy more congenial for foreign investment would be carried out in the near future. From now on the public sector would be concentrating on social issues like health and other minimum needs of the people leaving open the management of industry and commerce to the private sector. "From a centralised planning India would move towards indicative planning."

The Chairman, India section of the Council, Mr. Raunaq Singh, said the new environment created greater opportunities for the two countries to work together. While referring to the various economic reforms introduced by the Government, he said India had already agreed at GATT to slash tariff rates by 30 percent on industrial products. At the same time the industry was also urging the Government to rationalise tariff on a wide range of products which were a must for globalisation of the economy.

According to Mr. Raunaq Singh, the measures initiated by the Government had already answered a number of concerns expressed by the U.S. businessmen and he urged them to come out with specific problems which they still faced while doing business with India. He said, "I can assure that our Government is quite open and willing to take speedy action in sorting out any other problem coming in the way of better business conditions."

Council Suggestions

92AS0360B Madras *THE HINDU* in English 21 Nov 91
p 9

[Article by *THE HINDU* special correspondent: "India Should Sign Paris Convention"]

[Text] New Delhi, Nov. 20. The Indo-US Joint Business Council (JBC) which concluded its two-day deliberations here today has recommended that India should sign the Paris Convention "even if it did so with such reservations as may be necessary in its national interest."

This particular recommendation was made by the working session on Technology Transfer and Intellectual Property Rights Protection of the JBC which was chaired by Mr. Ashok C. Pratap and co-chaired by the U.S. Senator, Mr. Charles Percy.

The working group recognised the progress made for providing protection to intellectual property in India. However, there were certain specific areas of concern that required to be addressed namely, pharmaceuticals, chemicals and food processing. In these areas, major issues of concern were product versus process patents and duration of patents.

Regarding transfer of technology, the JBC noted the assurance of the Government that eventually technology transfer agreements will be allowed without any governmental interference. The special invitees to the working session from the Indian Government side included Mr. Rakesh Mohan, Adviser, Ministry of Industry, Mr. P.

Rath, Joint Secretary, Ministry of External Affairs and Mr. Vinod Vaish, Joint Secretary in the Department of Chemicals and Petrochemicals.

Patent duration: The JBC suggested that equal duration for all patents be provided in accordance with international standards and protection for both service marks and biotechnology be introduced. Besides, concerted efforts should be made by both sides to disseminate appropriate data on IPR [Intellectual Property Rights] protection available in India to keep the issue in proper perspective.

The U.S. side recommended that there should be patent protection for products in pharmaceuticals, chemicals and food processing and the compulsory licensing provisions in the Indian patent laws should be confined to situations of national emergency.

Another working session on programmes and policies to promote trade and investment suggested that though the Indian Government's new foreign investment policies were welcome, the U.S. side particularly wanted quick implementation of the policies and elimination of procedural bottlenecks and bureaucratic delays.

The U.S. side felt that if implementation of policies was quick, India could attract between 4 to 5 billion U.S. dollars in foreign investment in the next five to six years.

The working session on multilateral trade negotiations said the two sides would urge their respective Governments to negotiate positively towards a successful conclusion of the Uruguay Round of GATT [General Agreement on Trade and Tariffs] negotiations.

The Indian side said that with the economic liberalisation programme undertaken by the Government, the U.S. should take India off the Special 301 list. This important session was chaired by Mr. Hari Shankar Singhania and co-chaired by Mr. Donald M. Kendall. The special invitee to the session from the Indian Government side was Mr. A. Hoda, Additional Secretary, Ministry of Commerce.

Finance Minister Speaks

92AS0360C *Madras THE HINDU in English*
21 Nov 91 p 11

[Article by THE HINDU special correspondent: "MNCs Urged To Set Up Units in India"; boldface words, quotation marks as published]

[Text] New Delhi, Nov. 20. The Union Finance Minister, Dr. Manmohan Singh, has urged multinational companies (MNCs) to set up a global production base in India as it would go a long way in removing all suspicions regarding direct foreign investment among the Indians.

Addressing members of the Indo-U.S. Joint Business Council here [JBC] today, the Finance Minister said if Singapore could provide the location for 700 large global

companies to operate their international business, there was no reason why India could not do so. He assured the U.S. businessmen that if there were any domestic barriers for setting up such ventures whether legal or tariff-related, the Government was willing to remove them.

'Conflicting signals': A representative of the U.S. giant, GE observed that repeated announcements by top functionaries that the Government would introduce in the next few months more liberal investment measures actually sent conflicting signals to those entering the scene now and the foreign investors who may come in later. Responding to this significant observation, Dr. Manmohan Singh said the intent behind India's legal system was to create an environment where various firms were not put into any disadvantage at least not related to their performance.

The Finance Minister, however, immediately remarked "No Government can give an assurance that future policy will not improve. You cannot say we should freeze the present conditions. If further modifications are necessary for creating the right climate for entrepreneurs our Government will retain that freedom. But we would try to ensure that the field for competition is on an even footing."

Tremendous gap: Tracing the recent liberalisation measures, Dr. Singh said agriculture still remained the main base in India though there was a tremendous gap between what had been achieved and what could be achieved. He said it was necessary to bring in modern technology including bio-technology even in agriculture to benefit the masses. Turning to Mr. Donald M. Kendall, Chairman of the U.S. section of the Indo-U.S. JBC and Chairman Emeritus of Pepsico, Dr. Singh said "in a short time the tomato yield in Punjab has increased enormously and this only shows that the promise of modern technology is meant for not only sophisticated areas but also for the well-being of masses".

Besides agriculture, Dr. Singh identified the telecommunication and power sectors in India as areas which badly required infusion of modern technology. Describing the Indian telecommunication system as obsolete, he said India certainly required a "top class telecom system." The Indian power sector also needed fresh technology and investment with special reference to energy conservation.

Asked to comment on approval procedures for equity issues adopted by the Controller of Capital Issues (CCI), the Finance Minister said "We are considering a wholesale reform of system of granting CCI approval and remove the Government from this field altogether." But since this was a very significant policy change, he would have to get the approval of the Union Cabinet. According to Dr. Singh a prudential supervisory role by the Government might be necessary to avoid inside trading dangers which in the past had "tarnished the image of Finance Ministers elsewhere." Once the Government gave 'statutory teeth' to the SEBI [expansion

not given] (a legislation in this regard may be passed in the current sessions of Parliament) to supervise the activities of the stock market, the role of the Government could be eliminated altogether.

On the overall climate of foreign investment, Dr. Singh observed that India was much better placed than many countries in East or Central Europe because it already had a market economy in operation and the rule of law backed by a thriving democracy would provide security to foreign investors. He said "Sometimes foreign investors talked to a dictator who promised the sky but next time he was not there. You (U.S. investors) can rest assured that these structural disruptions cannot take place in India. Investment is not only a profit or loss proposition but was also an act of faith."

When asked whether India would be another success story after ten years, Dr. Singh said it was difficult to answer because if someone had asked in 1960 who would be a success story none would have mentioned South Korea. However, today South Korea was one of the outstanding examples of success. He remarked: "If Indians can make up their minds, I believe we can repeat the Korean example."

Unusual approval: In this connection he said a certain proposal had been submitted to the Government the day before yesterday and it was cleared in less than 18 hours. He said the German Minister of Economics, Mr. Jurgen W. Mollemann commented that such approval was unusual by even German standards. The Finance Minister allayed fears of foreign investors that bureaucracy would be a stumbling block to the deregulation process. "When we say don't come to the Government for clearance then you don't have to worry about the bureaucracy," he remarked.

Chidambaram Speaks

92AS0360D Madras *THE HINDU* in English
21 Nov 91 p 11

[Article by *THE HINDU* special correspondent: "It Is a Sweeping Economic Revolution"; boldface words as published]

[Text] New Delhi, Nov. 20. The Minister of State for Commerce, Mr. P. Chidambaram, has reiterated that the new trade policies announced by the Government were neither ad hoc nor opportunistic and were not intended to meet any temporary situation or any demand made upon India by lending institutions.

Addressing the 14th meeting of the Indo-U.S. Joint Business Council here today, Mr. Chidambaram said the policy reforms initiated by the Government in the last five months were nothing short of a sweeping economic revolution and showed India's commitment to GATT [General Agreement of Trade and Tariffs] principles of free trade, lower tariff and elimination of non-tariff barriers. While 90 percent of items were taken off the

purview of import licences, the remaining 10 percent would also be freed from the licensing regime before March 31, 1992.

Rupee convertibility: Mr. Chidambaram expressed confidence that convertibility of rupee on the trade account and subsequently on the current account would be achieved within three years or even earlier. During the same time capital goods, raw material and component imports would be placed on free import list. Even after such liberal measures, a small negative list would still remain as the country could not afford at this stage of development a totally free import regime.

Referring to the results of the new economic policy, Mr. Chidambaram said that in the first four months the Government had cleared 32 joint ventures to be set up by Indian entrepreneurs abroad and 94 proposals covering foreign financial equity and technical participation in India had received the green signal. According to the Commerce Minister, the Government had already cleared qualitatively good proposals like IBM, Ford, Kellogs, General Electric and BMW. Besides, major proposals from General Motors, Alcatel, Siemens and Mitsubishi were awaiting the Government's clearance. He said as regards the actual quantum of investment, things would begin to show up from the new financial year beginning April 1992. Right now major MNCs [multinational companies] were knocking at the doors of Indian companies to locate the right partner.

Mr. Chidambaram said that in order to make matters easy for applicants under the Advance Licence scheme the Government had already identified 1070 items representing 90 percent of the items coming under the Advanced Licence scheme and fixed the input-output norms. The remaining job would be completed before the end of December 1991. It was in this context, he said that while regulations had been removed the regulators were yet to be relocated. It was not jobs but functions the Government had abolished.

Mr. Chidambaram also said the Government would soon decide on the deletion of any reference to PMP [Phased Manufacturing Program] in any of the import notifications so that there was no further duality in the policy relating to concessional duty. The point regarding PMP was raised by a U.S. businessman who said allowing PMP units concessional rates of duty in preference to new ones being set up now when there was no PMP had actually introduced an element of discrimination.

On the issue of Intellectual Property Rights and patents which according to the U.S. side was the main irritant in Indo-U.S. economic relations particularly investment, Mr. Chidambaram said Indian laws on copyrights, software protection and trade marks were as good as any law in the world. However, India made a deviation consciously on patents relating to food, chemicals and pharmaceuticals. If any American or any other foreign company wished to seek patent protection for them they

could then get it, provided the patents were worked in India, that is the products concerned were manufactured in India. Mr. Chidambaram said it was strange that a big U.S. multinational company like Kellogg (processed food) had not made patents an issue before coming to India.

Questions Raised by Kendall

92AS0360E Madras *THE HINDU* in English
22 Nov 91 p 8

[Editorial: "Questions That Need No Answers"]

[Text] The key to policy making is more a matter of asking the right questions than of seeking obvious answers. Perhaps it was this realisation that prompted Mr. Donald M. Kendall, chairman of the U.S. section of the Indo-U.S. Joint Business Council to pose five questions to the Indian Government, the answers to which he feels would dictate the decisions of foreign companies looking at India as a home for their investments. Mr. Kendall, speaking at the 14th meeting of the Council in Delhi this week, said India had the potential to grow from the world's greatest democracy to the world's greatest economy. Kind words but hyperbolic, at least for the next 20 years. More to the point are the questions that he raised.

Mr. Kendall asked these five questions. Is India a difficult place to do business because of bureaucracy, regulations and red tape? Is India interested only in importing technology and exporting its own products without opening its markets to outsiders? Are there problems about protection of patents, trademarks and copyright? Did India resist efforts to control export of technology used to create highly destructive weapons? Did India play an obstructive, sometimes recalcitrant role during the Uruguay Round of GATT General Agreement on Trade and Tariffs negotiations? The first question is relevant, the next two have been answered already and the last two are irrelevant for any businessman trying to make up his mind on pouring millions of dollars into industries in India. Whether India resisted efforts to control highly destructive weapons technology (which it has not done) and whether India played an obstructive role in GATT (which again it has not unless its principled stand can be so termed) are hardly the issues that should worry an entrepreneur seeking a profitable business opportunity. The raising of these two issues betrays a measure of intolerance over New Delhi's continuing independent stand on the nuclear non-proliferation treaty and on trade issues. India has already answered the second and third questions several times. The new industrial policy and repeated Ministerial statements make it clear that New Delhi invites foreign capital with open arms, which means the domestic market has been thrown open. Similarly, India has stressed it is convinced that sufficient protection exists for patents, trademarks and copyright.

Mr. Kendall's first question is one which everyone abroad has been asking and expresses quite a valid concern. The answer to that cannot be merely in words. It has to be in action; for instance, by having no clearance procedure, not even automatic, for foreign investment proposals except for products and processes that harm the environment; by not hedging any scheme for attracting foreign investment with whereases and wheretofores; by retraining our bureaucrats to stop thinking always in terms of subsection X of section Y of some rule or guideline.

Mr. Kendall would have done a signal service to both the country and foreign investors if he had raised questions about conditions on the ground: will power connections be delayed; what is the quality of power supply; will it take years or weeks to acquire land for factories; will communication facilities be made available easily; what about transport of raw materials and finished products; does the tax structure encourage entrepreneurship; will the Government be able to control inflation and deficits. And finally that question to which all Indians have been seeking an answer for decades: when will the telephones work?

India-EC Joint Commission Meeting Ends

92AS0367A Calcutta *THE TELEGRAPH* in English
15 Nov 91 p 9

[Article by THE TELEGRAPH correspondent: "EC Investment Scheme for India"]

[Text] New Delhi, Nov. 14: The European Community (EC) has extended an investment fund scheme to India to help prepare its industry for "global competition".

Called the "EC-International Investment Partners", the fund covers four different stages of joint ventures, from identification of potential partners to the operations prior to launching a joint venture, the financing of capital requirements and finally training and management expertise.

The agreement was signed between Mr. Juan Prat, director general for North-South relations for the commission, and the representatives of Exim [Export-Import] Bank, the Industrial Credit and Investment Corporation of India (ICICI) and the Industrial Development Bank of India (IDBI).

The Indian government has made the fund eligible for foreign exchange neutral status, tax exemption on all income of EC in India including dividend income, capital gains on sale of equity loans, and exemptions for loans under the capital Issues Exemption Order 1969 as is granted to the International Finance Corporation (IFC).

The EC feels that the capital joint venture fund would be useful in supporting the Indian position in the global competition between nations to attract foreign investment.

The two-day session of the EC-India Joint Commission which ended today in a joint declaration, said the Uruguay Round of GATT [General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade] negotiations should be completed by the end of 1991.

Addressing a press conference later, Mr. Juan Prat said the Generalised System of Preferences (GSP) would be improved after the Uruguay Round of talks are over. He said the commission also discussed anti-dumping and textile products during their discussions with the Indian officials.

The EC appreciated the recent economic liberalisation efforts of the Indian government and said this would bring India closer to the mainstream of the international trading system.

Indo-German Joint Commission Meets in Delhi

Speeches Reported

92AS0366A Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA
in English 20 Nov 91 p 15

[Article: "India Against Linking Defence Spending to Economic Aid"; quotation marks as published]

[Text] New Delhi, November 19 (PTI). India today told Germany that introducing defence spending as a criterion in programmes of bilateral and multilateral economic cooperation can be 'counter-productive'.

Speaking at the Indo-FRG Joint Commission meeting here, the finance minister, Dr. Manmohan Singh, said while India shared the worldwide concern for reduced spending on defence, it felt that defence was a highly complex subject having a bearing on national security.

"Meaningful international comparisons of defence spending would require a lot of sophisticated analysis of the needs of national security and threat perceptions", Dr. Singh told the commission, which is headed on the German side by its federal minister of economics, Mr. Jurgen Mollemann.

Dr. Singh said in nominal terms the defence expenditure at 2.8 percent of the GDP [gross domestic product] was far lower than the world average both of developed and developing countries, he said.

He said there was need to evolve a truly global strategy to increase the pool of world savings so that the capital requirements of both developing countries and of Central and Eastern Europe can be met.

Dr. Singh said during the current year itself, India has reduced defence spending even in nominal terms. In real terms, the defence expenditure at 2.8 percent of the GDP was far lower than the world average both of developed and developing countries, he said.

He said the whole world had a strong vested interest in strengthening the progress towards disarmament and

arms control. "Clearly the lead has to be given by the major economies of the world," he said.

The finance minister said the ending of the cold war and of east-west confrontation provided a unique opportunity for the major economies of the world to reduce their spending on armaments.

He said there was need to evolve a truly global strategy to increase the pool of world savings so that the capital requirements of both developing countries and of Central and Eastern Europe can be met.

Mr. Jurgen Mollemann, has promised his Government's support to the adjustment effort of the Indian Economy, but said economic reforms must become a reality "in practical terms" to ensure large inflow of foreign direct investment.

The reforms undertaken by India were "bold," but the country still needs to liberate its economy from "superfluous rules and regulations" and to streamline administrative procedures, Mr. Mollemann told a crowded meeting of the Indian industrialists last night, held under the auspices of the Indo-German Chambers of Commerce.

Investment is attracted by those, who offer the best conditions, Mr. Mollemann said in reply to a question from an Indian industrialist, who wanted to know whether India could expect a trebling or quadrupling of German investment as so far it was a trickle compared to German investment worldwide.

The finance minister, Dr. Manmohan Singh, who also spoke, said that the Indian government would remove "all the cobwebs" that came in the way of foreign direct investment. India was prepared to allow majority participation in a large number of areas.

The climate for foreign investment would improve further in course of time, the finance minister added.

Mr. Mollemann said that the unification of Germany with its programme of privatisation of enterprises provided opportunities for India's export industry.

West German firms, he said, had planned an investment of 25 billion deutsche marks in the new states, which was likely to reach 36 million DM [Deutsche mark] next year. Parallel to this an enormous amount of public investment was now being undertaken to modernise infrastructure in the new states.

Despite their preoccupation in the new states, Dr. Mollemann said "We will not lose sight of the Third World."

In the field of trade policy, he said "We must see to it that our partners in the Third World receive the opportunity to earn hard currency they need for developing their economies".

About the integration of the European market, Mr. Mollemann said Germany strongly supported the EC

commission's position that internal market must not be allowed to become a fortress and must remain an open market.

This, he said, also applied to the recently created large European economic area, which he was sure "will provide India with greater export opportunities".

Dr. Manmohan Singh welcomed Mr. Mollemann's assurance that Germany would remain open and provide expanding opportunities for the export of developing countries like India.

Dr. Singh said an economy of India's size also has something to offer to the rest of the world. "We are also going to provide attractive markets for German exporters," he added.

Over the years, Dr. Singh said, Germany had become a major locomotive for the growth of the world economy and urged Indian businessmen to learn the dynamism that had made Germany the industrial power that it was today.

Earlier, Mr. H. F. Kroll, president of the Indo-German Chamber of Commerce, said never before had the chamber met in such dynamic times.

Statement Issued

92AS0366B Madras *THE HINDU* in English 20 Nov 91 p 1

[Article by *THE HINDU* special correspondent: "Germany Supports New Policies"; boldface words as published]

[Text] New Delhi, Nov. 19. India and Germany have expressed happiness that the talks between the German President and the Indian leaders in February-March 1991 in New Delhi and the exchanges between the Prime Minister of India and the German Chancellor in Bonn in September last 'had given valuable political impetus to the ongoing bilateral economic relations'.

According to a joint statement issued at the end of the two-day ninth session of the Indo-German Joint Commission for Industrial and Economic Cooperation here today, the two sides agreed that it was desirable to have an accelerated and enhanced flow of capital and investment from the developed to the developing countries to assist in the process of accelerating growth in the developing countries and integrating them fully into the world economy.

While the Indian delegation to the Joint Commission meeting was headed by the Union Finance Minister, Dr. Manmohan Singh, the German side was led by its Minister of Economics, Mr. Jurgen W. Mollemann. According to the joint statement signed by Dr. Manmohan Singh and Mr. Mollemann, the two sides exchanged views on political and economic conditions in the two countries as well as in the global context.

Mr. Mollemann informed that he had taken note of Indian efforts and notwithstanding its preoccupation with the aftermath of the German unification and the marketisation of the economies of Eastern and Central Europe, he would continue to give his fullest support domestically and internationally to India's requirement of resources and need for access to markets.

He also conveyed the German desire to encourage the Indian Government to continue its market-oriented economic policy and expressed its readiness to support this policy which was oriented towards modernising the Indian economy, increasing its efficiency and competitiveness as well as integrating India strongly into the world economy.

Joint ventures: While both sides underlined the positive development of bilateral trade especially of India's exports to Germany, they also were convinced that the German economic area, now larger as a result of reunification, would offer additional opportunities to Indian supplies. Mr. Mollemann emphasised that Indian enterprises would be particularly welcome as partners in investment projects and collaborative schemes in the new federal states as well.

Dr. Manmohan Singh said there had been a long standing economic and industrial collaboration between India and the new states of the Federal Republic of Germany and was confident that these relations would be further enhanced to mutual benefit in the years to come.

Access to European market: The leaders of both the delegations agreed that the emergence of the single European market in 1992 should increase market access of Indian exports. In this connection, the German side recalled the declaration of the EC Commission that the European Community will continue to pursue a liberal trade policy and that even after the completion of the single European market it will become no fortress, but that it will remain a partner of the world. The two sides agreed that they would continue to work towards a successful conclusion of the Uruguay Round by the turn of this and the next year.

Earlier last night addressing a gathering of Indian and German businessmen, Mr. Mollemann said the economic policy of Prime Minister Rao's Government was of great personal interest to him and he found many parallels in it with his own views on economic policy. German experience with such policy measures had been very good he said and observed they created the necessary latitude for economic growth, stability and technological progress.

Soviet Republic Presidents Invited to Delhi

92AS0364A Bombay *THE SUNDAY TIMES OF INDIA* in English 24 Nov 91 p 1

[Article: "India for Direct Ties With Soviet Republics"; boldface words as published]]

[Text] New Delhi, Nov. 23. India has sent direct invitations to presidents of four Soviet republics and decided

to upgrade and open new consulates in five republics in a swift move to establish direct relations and enter into separate economic agreements, according to PTI.

The retiring foreign secretary, Mr. Muchkund Dubey, told a group of journalists here today that the Prime Minister, Mr. P. V. Narasimha Rao, had already sent invitations to the presidents of Russia, Turkmenistan, Kazakhstan and Kirghizia, after they conveyed their express desire to visit New Delhi at the earliest.

"India has moved quickly in response to the changed situation in the Soviet Union and we have started dealing with various republics separately," Mr. Dubey said.

The Soviet vote in support of Pakistan's resolution in the United Nations general assembly for declaring south Asia as a nuclear-weapons free zone is emerging as a major irritant in Indo-Soviet relations.

A multi-disciplinary delegation of secretaries would visit the Soviet Union next month to tackle other problems such as the rouble-rupee exchange rate, repayments against outstanding debts and utilisation of credits already committed.

UNI adds: Mr. Dubey said that taking a "pragmatic view," a decision in principle had been taken to "desegregate" India's relation with the Soviet Union.

Press Comments on Solanki Moscow Visit

Meeting With Yeltsin, Gorbachev

92AS0362A Calcutta THE SUNDAY STATESMAN
in English 17 Nov 91 p 1

[Article: "Yeltsin To Visit India Next Year"; boldface words as published]

[Text] Moscow, Nov. 16.—The Russian President, Mr. Boris Yeltsin, has accepted Mr. P.V. Narasimha Rao's invitation to visit India and it might take place early next year, the External Affairs Minister, Mr. Madhavsingh Solanki, has said, reports PTI.

Mr. Solanki met Mr. Yeltsin yesterday as the Prime Minister's special Envoy and handed over a letter to him from Mr. Rao.

Mr. Solanki told reporters late last evening that Mr. Yeltsin was keen that Russia and India should continue their cooperation in trade and other fields.

Welcoming Mr. Solanki to the meeting, which lasted about two hours, Mr. Yeltsin noted that this was the "first visit in the history of Russian-Indian relations."

Mr. Yeltsin said the changed situation in the Soviet Union made the current meeting "historically necessary."

Meanwhile, President Gorbachev has assured Mr. Solanki that friendship with India "is our strategic course" and "the loss of dynamics in bilateral exchanges does not mean a change in the concept of policy towards the great country."

Mr. Gorbachov asked Mr. Solanki to convey this assurance to the Indian President and the Prime Minister, Tass news agency said in its report on Mr. Solanki's hour-long meeting with the Soviet President in the Kremlin yesterday.

The agency said Mr. Gorbachev told Mr. Solanki that friendship with India was determined by profound mutual interests, the geopolitical situation, historical inclination of the two peoples for each other and enormous cultural and mutual liking.

"We value highly the capital of mutual understanding and cooperation accumulated over decades, and, especially the role played by the similarities of views and approaches, reflected in the famous Delhi Declaration, in the elaboration of ideas for the modern world policy," Mr. Gorbachev said.

Tass said during the meeting the two sides discussed "some of the most important current problems which have recently appeared in economic and other relations."

"They agreed on ways to deal with those of them that can be solved in the current difficult situation," the agency said.

Briefing reporters on the meeting, the Foreign Secretary, Mr. Muchkund Dubey, said Mr. Gorbachev reiterated political commitment to maintain relations with India.

As regards the current problem in bilateral trade and defence supplies, Mr. Gorbachev said every possible effort would be made to overcome them.

Mr. Solanki invited Mr. Pankin to India and impressed upon him to make the visit by the end of this year or early next year. During the visit the two sides are to sign a protocol to extend the Indo-Soviet friendship treaty by another five years. This has been agreed upon earlier.

Our Special Representative in New Delhi adds: India is opposed to a nuclear free zone in the South Asian region and the Soviet vote in the U.N. Political Committee in favour of a Pakistani and Bangladeshi proposal is not appreciated in official and political circles here.

The BJP [Bharatiya Janta Party] president, Dr. M. M. Joshi, has described it as "ominous" the support given by the Soviet Union, the Ukraine and Byelorussia to the Pakistani proposal at the United Nations for the establishment of a nuclear-weapon free zone in South Asia.

Differences Over Nonproliferation

92AS0362B Bombay THE SUNDAY TIMES OF INDIA
in English 17 Nov 91 p 1

[Article: "Indo-Soviet Rift on NPT"]

[Text] Moscow, Nov. 16. Differences of opinion have emerged between India and the Soviet Union over the Nuclear Non-proliferation Treaty (NPT) but India would continue to adhere to its stand, the foreign secretary, Mr. Muchkund Dubey, has said, reports PTI.

There was "honest difference of opinion... We must respect it," Mr. Dubey told reporters responding to questions last evening after the external affairs minister, Mr. Madhavsingh Solanki's talks with his Soviet counterpart, Mr. Boris Pankin, where the issue figured.

Mr. Dubey said there was "very strong justification for India's stand and we will continue to adhere to it."

Mr. Pankin had said after first the round of talks with Mr. Solanki yesterday that the NPT issue would be discussed during the second round. He was asked about the issue in the light of the Soviet vote for a Pakistani draft on making South Asia a nuclear-free zone.

Meanwhile, the President, Mr. Mikhail Gorbachev has assured Mr. Solanki that friendship with India "is our strategic course" and "the loss of dynamics in bilateral exchanges does not mean a change in the concept or policy towards the great country."

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Mr. Solanki met Mr. Yeltsin yesterday as Prime Minister's special envoy and handed over a letter to him from Mr. Narasimha Rao.

Soviet Reaction

92AS0362C Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA
in English 21 Nov 91 p 17

[Article by Vyacheslav Kostikov: "Solanki's Quiet Visit Reaffirms Ties"; quotation marks as published]

[Text] Moscow, November 20. The visit of Mr. Madhavsingh Solanki, the minister of external affairs, proceeded "on the quiet" as it were. There is no evil will or lack of attention therein.

As before, the USSR regards India as a reliable and well-trying partner. But, when one's home is on fire it is difficult to speak of love. The Soviet side has made every necessary gesture to give the visit appropriate status. The Indian minister was received by Mr. Mikhail Gorbachev. He had talks with Mr. Boris Pankin, a neophyte of Soviet diplomacy. All the rituals befitting the occasion have been performed.

But the Soviet press, which has won independence and become a sensitive barometer showing real, not ostentatious, policy is restrained in reacting to the visit by the head of the Indian diplomacy. One should hardly take offence and accuse Soviet diplomacy of a lack of attention to the visitor.

The country is busy "licking clean" the ulcers which had developed over the 70 years of the leprosy of communism. Politicians are more concerned about how to quickly consign the Afghan war to the diplomatic archives, as its consequences continue worrying the country.

No wonder, therefore, that the arrival of a delegation of the Afghan opposition, which coincided in time with the Solanki visit, has caused a livelier interest.

I managed not without difficulty to find out at the Soviet foreign ministry the programme of Mr. Solanki's visit. There is nothing surprising about it: precisely during the Indian minister's stay in Moscow, the ministry of foreign affairs of the USSR has "ceased to exist". The staff of the ministry is being halved.

The ministry of foreign economic relations, which had earlier been responsible for all business relations with India is also being dissolved. Officials are concerned about being provided with other jobs, not with politics.

And this is not the most unfavourable factor against the background of which the visit is taking place. As a matter of fact, Mr. Solanki also faced a complex and delicate problem: who to have talks with and how responsible and long-term agreements reached will be. If even at home no one can clearly say what the role of Mr. Gorbachev and Mr. Pankin will be within the next few months, then what can one say about the results of talks?

A mist of uncertainty and understatement wraps the whole of the visit by the Indian Minister. If many people at home view Mr. Gorbachev and Mr. Pankin as mere co-ordinators of the republics' policy, it is hard to expect any explicit signals from Moscow.

But none of Soviet analysts have any doubts that India's and the USSR's strategic interests as a whole are concurrent, which presupposes amiable relations. As far as the special assessments by Soviet diplomacy of a number of contradictory factors of Indian foreign policy are concerned, Soviet diplomats today and, very likely, in the near future will refrain from "taking sides" in disputes.

Moscow today is not inclined to either advise or insist on its own line. Nowadays, the lot of Soviet diplomacy, which has lost the old levers of power but has not yet found new ones, is to reiterate the well-known and generally unreviewed principles of Soviet foreign policy.

It stands to reason that the Soviet Union favours disarmament and the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons. But how can it now insist on India following this good principle, if in the USSR itself, which is disintegrating into separate states, the Ukraine, Byelorussia and Kazakhstan have claimed their own rights to nuclear weapons?

A US diplomat in Moscow told me that the US embassy in Moscow would wish the Soviet side express during the Indian minister's visit "disappointment" over the voting of the Indian delegate to the UN political committee on Pakistan's proposal. It is, of course, possible to express disappointment, all the more so as the Indian stand had not met with understanding among an overwhelming majority of UN members.

The newspaper IZVESTIA, thoroughly avoiding a didactic tone regarding Indian diplomacy, nevertheless emphasised in its commentary on the voting at the United Nations, not without concealed purpose, that the Indian position had been supported only by two tiny states: Mauritius and Bhutan.

The fact that Soviet diplomacy refrains from more forceful statements on the Indian stand is due to the very delicate situation in which Moscow has found itself in the matter of nuclear weapons non-proliferation. Indeed, if one judges formally, then the announcement of independence by the Ukraine has led to the inadvertent proliferation of nuclear weapons.

There are 176 points of basing of strategic missiles equipped with nuclear warheads on the territory of the Ukraine. In principle, the Ukraine declares that it would like to be a nuclear-weapons-free zone, but it is in no hurry to give the nuclear missiles to Russia. Without deciding this complex question in its own country, Soviet diplomacy cannot have sufficient moral rights to teach other countries lessons on nuclear morality.

Decision-making on serious foreign-policy issues in Moscow is being complicated by lack of clarity regarding

the very concept of future state: whether it will be a single or spiritless conglomerate of independent states with a symbolical centre? Will Moscow accept the western model of development or will its policy be determined by the 'Eurasian factor', that is, the countries belonging to both Europe and Asia?

A sad proposition is that during the Solanki visit to Moscow, his interlocutors, however hard they might want to do so, cannot answer any of the questions worrying Delhi. Because the situation in the country is so unpredictable, even the best of intentions may remain unfulfilled by virtue of the chaotic developments.

The one who is not present is always wrong and in this sense, however, complicated the circumstances surrounding the Solanki visit to Moscow may be, the visit was necessary. But it is very important that it should not remain an isolated foreign-policy action by Delhi. It needs to have a continuation.

Clarifications Needed

92AS0362D Madras THE HINDU in English
22 Nov 91 p 9

[Article by K. K. Katyal: "Indo-Soviet Ties Await Clearer Map"]

[Text] New Delhi, Nov. 21. The leaders of Russia—and other republics—who really matter now in the former Soviet Union are keen on maintaining trade and political relations at the old level, but this wish can be translated into reality only when the situation in that country settles down to a set pattern and there is a clearer perception about the modalities in bilateral dealings. This is the picture of the Indo-Soviet relationship, in the wake of the recent visit to Moscow of the External Affairs Minister, Mr. Madhavsingh Solanki and his talks with the Soviet President, Mr. Mikhail Gorbachev and the head of the Russian Federation, Mr. Boris Yeltsin and other leaders.

In the sphere of trade and supplies, India is to be clear about two points—one, the authority with which it is to deal and finalise the 1992 protocol and the basis for the transactions. The rupee-rouble arrangement which governed the trade between the two countries has acquired new distortions and as such, has rendered itself unfit, in its present form, as the medium of trade. The present exchange rate, of 30 roubles for a rupee, is neither realistic nor in conformity with the norms of international currency deals. A better yardstick may be provided by either the auction rate of the rouble or the commercial quotations by the bank. Mr. Yeltsin and his colleagues have accepted the need for clearing arrangements on the existing rupee-rouble basis in relation to the core sector, but otherwise have favoured the prices of the commodities, imported by each side to be computed in dollars—even bartered on this basis. The problem of the huge accumulated debt or of the credits accumulated but not utilised will become all the more acute if the rupee-rouble exchange continues to be unrealistic.

As regards the defence supplies, the signals from Moscow are conflicting. On the one hand, there is the assurance to honour all commitments and maintain a steady supply in 1992 and, on the other hand, there is the talk of cash-and-carry basis—and by the cash, is meant hard currency. The supply of the spares for the military hardware, already in India, is problematical too, with most of the defence manufacturing units planning to switch to civilian items.

On the political side, the Russian leadership is at pains to explain that the recent Soviet vote in the United Nations in favour of Pakistan's resolution on a nuclear-free South Asia will not detract from the existing cordialities. It has been described as a case of difference among friends—as a case of 99 percent friendship.

The Soviet Embassy in New Delhi has informed the government here of the plan to vote for the resolution (though in the past the USSR has abstained). Two reasons have been mentioned for the changed attitude—one, the imperatives created by Moscow's cooperation with other nuclear powers in checking proliferation, and two, the need to guard against the near-nuclear republics of the Soviet Union to develop nuclear ambitions.

Results of Solanki Moscow Visit Viewed

Indian Embassy Release Reported

92AS0359A Madras THE HINDU in English 19 Nov 91
p 6

[Article: "Team To Visit Moscow for Talks on Defence Supplies"; boldface words as published]

[Text] Moscow, Nov 18. A multi-disciplinary team of officials and experts from India will arrive here in the near future for talks with Russian and Soviet authorities on defence supplies problems, it was officially stated at the end of External Affairs Minister, Mr. Madhavsingh Solanki's visit.

"It is expected that during these discussions all outstanding issues and problems will be addressed and early solutions sought," an Indian Embassy release said.

Mr. Solanki, who left for home this morning, had talks with the Soviet President, Mr. Mikhail Gorbachev, the Russian President, Mr. Boris Yeltsin, the Soviet Minister for External Relations, Mr. Boris Pankin, the chairman of Inter-Republican Economic Committee, Mr. Ivan Silayev, the Russian Deputy Premier, Mr. Yegor Gaidar, and the Russian Foreign Minister, Mr. Andrei Kozyrev.

Responding to questions, the Indian Ambassador here, Mr. Alfred Gonsalves, said the visit was "very successful." Both Mr. Gorbachev and Mr. Yeltsin had given firm assurances that the four-decade-old traditional relationship with India would be maintained and enhanced, Mr. Gonsalves said.

The press release said the Soviet and Russian leaderships stressed that notwithstanding far reaching internal developments in the Soviet Union, the relationship with India continued to enjoy high priority. It was reiterated that the relationship should continue to be cemented and developed through regular contacts at all levels.

The release said Mr. Gorbachev, Mr. Yeltsin and others whom Mr. Solanki met had accepted invitations to visit India. It said a number of issues that have arisen in the bilateral relationship due to restructuring process in the Soviet Union were discussed during Mr. Solanki's meetings.

The Soviet side said in its release the "ever-lasting value of the traditional relations of friendship and cooperation, based on the 1971 treaty and the 1986 Delhi declaration, was affirmed during the conversation (with Mr. Solanki)."

The release said during Mr. Solanki's talks with Mr. Yeltsin the attention was devoted to the development of direct contacts between Russia and India, primarily in the field of trade—PTI.

Economic Aspects Important

92AS0359B Madras THE HINDU in English 21 Nov 91
p 9

[Article by Vladimir Radyuhin: "Indo-Soviet Trade Set for an Upswing"]

[Text] Moscow, Nov 20. The first visit of Indian Foreign Minister, Mr. Madhavsingh Solanki to Moscow seems to have gone off as successfully as could be expected in a situation when the federal Government in the Soviet Union no longer wields economic power and republics are too busy trying to hammer out a new modus vivendi among themselves to pay close attention to relations with third countries.

Despite the turmoil in Soviet politics, Moscow went out of its way to underline the special character of its relations with New Delhi. Not many foreign dignitaries visiting Moscow. These days can boast of meeting all the top Kremlin leaders—the Soviet and Russian presidents Mr. Mikhail Gorbachev and Mr. Boris Yeltsin, Chairman of Inter-republic Economic Committee, Mr. Ivan Silayev, as well as Soviet and Russian foreign Ministers, Mr. Boris Pankin and Mr. Andrei Kozyrev. All of them sought to reassure Mr. Solanki that relations with India remained high on the list of Foreign policy priorities of both the Soviet Union or whatever may become of it in future and Russia as the largest Soviet republic. Also, they all accepted invitations to visit India. According to Foreign Ministry sources Mr. Pankin may visit India as early as next January or February.

Situation fluid: Understandably one question that worried the Indian delegation most was the future of India's relations with the Soviet Union now that the latter is

disintegrating and its republics are fast acquiring State sovereignty. Although it may be still too early to give a conclusive answer to that question as the new political lineup in the Soviet Union has not yet crystallised, for the Indian side the visit could not but confirm the fact that the Soviet Union no longer exists as one of the two world superpowers. This could entail a reappraisal of India's strategic priorities.

In the meantime the delegation appears to have succeeded in establishing a two-tier relationship with Moscow. India's interaction with Soviet Union federal authorities is likely to be most fruitful in the international arena, whereas its relations with Russia may focus on economic cooperation.

Although the Indian Foreign Minister's visit obviously had a political character, its economic aspect was quite prominent. Traditionally there have been few political differences between the Soviet Union and India. Non-proliferation of nuclear arms may be one of them, but this time the Soviet hosts deliberately soft-pedalled the issue despite the reported U.S. request to make it a point in the talks. With its own nuclear potential claimed by at least three republics—Russia, the Ukraine and Kazakhstan—Moscow is apparently in no position to lecture India of non-proliferation.

Trade 'turnover slumps': What really gives India a headache is its economic ties with the Soviet Union. This year the bilateral trade turnover is expected to fall by about 20 percent compared to last year. India feels particularly pinched by a dropoff in Soviet oil shipments. Soviet supplies of crude to India may not reach 3.6 million tonnes against 4.5 million tonnes last year. It may be small consolation for India to know that this is a relatively minor decline compared with the overall 50 percent fall in Soviet oil exports this year due to shrinking output.

With the decentralisation of its foreign trade the Soviet Union developed a deficit in its trade with India. While Soviet importers find it increasingly more profitable to purchase textiles and other consumer products in India, the exporters are reluctant to sell oil and other resources for rupees.

The rupee-rouble exchange rate is another problem affecting bilateral trade. Although the Soviet side recognises the legitimacy of India's demand for a revision of the 1978 rupee-rouble rate at a time when the commercial rate of the rouble to convertible currencies has been sharply lowered, no headway has been made so far.

To resolve these and other problems in bilateral economic relations India badly needed to establish direct political contact with the Russian Federation, which accounts for about 80 percent of exports to India. Mr. Solanki's visit has achieved this goal.

Zimbabwean President Meets Delhi Newsmen

92AS0369A Calcutta *THE STATESMAN* in English
18 Nov 91 p 9

[Article by *THE STATESMAN* special representative: "Poor Nations Must Have Stronger Fiscal Ties: Mugabe"]

[Text] New Delhi, Nov. 17—Greater economic cooperation among the countries of the South was imperative, the President of Zimbabwe, Mr. Robert Mugabe, said here yesterday, not merely to develop their own economies but to form an effective group to counter pressure from the developed nations of the North.

The developed world was dependent on the South for both raw materials and markets for their produce but the situation could only be exploited to the advantage of the developing countries if they stood together firmly. "If we kneel, we will be treated with disdain. If we show strength they will take note."

Addressing a Press conference, Mr. Mugabe touched on a wide range of international issues and said he still wanted the creation of a NAM [Nonaligned Movement] secretariat so that the organization could react promptly. He favoured a U.N. re-structuring and cautioned the international community against believing that apartheid had been eradicated from South Africa.

Turning to bilateral relations, he said Zimbabwe was keen that its economic relations attained the same level as its political ties with India. He had emphasized that during his discussions with the Prime Minister, Mr. P.V. Narasimha Rao, and at his meeting with Indian industrialists.

Mr. Mugabe rejected the view that NAM had lost its relevance in an increasingly unipolar world. While it was true that some of the parameters in vogue when the movement was born, no longer existed, he maintained that organizations which worked for peace would continue to have a role to play until the potential for conflict in the world was removed.

"Just because the power blocs have disappeared does not mean there will be no war." The potential for conflict would continue until total disarmament was achieved. Pointing to the situation in several parts of Africa and West Asia, he asked: "Who says there is no need for NAM?"

However, the real challenge today was of an economic nature, and NAM's peace effort must support U.N. moves in that direction. It must spearhead the Third World's bid for equitable sharing of wealth," he said.

Mr. Mugabe dealt extensively on the economic issue. He said some of the Third World countries had technologies and expertise urgently required by others. There must be

a concerted effort to ensure that the search for technologies began within the Third World, and countries turned to the North only when they were certain that the South had nothing to offer.

The gains would be twofold. Each country's economy would develop, resulting in a lesser dependence on the North. Mr. Mugabe stressed that the South must realize that its raw materials and markets were a source of strength which the North could not ignore. But such clout would only be attained when the South stood united economically.

The Zimbabwean President reminded that the British drank the most tea in the world without growing a single bush. Similarly, their cotton came from elsewhere. "Europe would squeal" once the South got together, he contended. "We don't realize our strength, our muscle."

Mr. Mugabe hinted at some regret that NAM had done little to resolve the crisis in Yugoslavia—the current Chairman. [sentence as published] Things might have been different had it had a permanent secretariat, which he had advocated during his tenure as Chairman.

Government Urged To Assist Fijian Indians

92AS0306A New Delhi JANSATTA in Hindi 13 Nov 91
p 6

[Article by Mukesh Kumar: "Who Will Take Up the Honor of Those of Indian Origin?"; quotation marks as published]

[Text] The Indian Government, on one side, spreads the red carpet for the foreign currency earned by the Indians living abroad, and on the other side it is totally ignoring the interests of people of Indian origin living in various countries. Is not it an unscrupulous neglect of its constitutional responsibilities and demonstration of selfishness on the part of a "welfare government?" Should our relationship with the Indians living abroad or people of Indian origin be limited to the foreign exchange they send us? Do we have no responsibility for providing political, social, and economic support to our people in various countries? All these questions were raised with great intensity when the situation of Indians living in Fiji was discussed. However, our government has closed its eyes to their problems.

The Fiji chapter is even more deplorable because while we openly fight against apartheid in South Africa, we have been witnessing inhuman racism forced on Fijians of Indian origin without saying a word. This small country is made up of about 800 islands in the Pacific Ocean. Of the 720,000 Fijians, more than 50 percent are of Indian origin and the remaining are Malaysian Fijians. Because of this large number of Indians there, Fiji is sometime known as 'Little India.'

If we look at the history of Fiji, we can easily understand why there are so many Indian people there. When Fiji was acquired by the British in 1874, it decided to use Fiji

like its other colonies to develop coconut and sugar industries. The British Government sent Indian laborers to Fiji in 1879 under an agreement. These laborers were from Bihar, Uttar Pradesh, and Tamil Nadu. They played a very important role in Fiji's development and settled there permanently. The present Fiji Indians are the descendants of those Indian laborers.

The Indian people there controlled the government because of their majority, however, the elected government was removed by a military coup under the leadership of Thimoki Bavandra in 1987. Not only this, Colonel Sitovani Rabuka started to commit all kind of atrocities against the Indians when he came to power. He declared them second-class citizens and started implementing racist policies. In this series of events, the Indian Embassy in Fiji was closed on 23 May 1990 and a new constitution based on race was implemented on 25 July 1990. This constitution assured that people of Indian origin are never able to attain political supremacy.

The Indians are being subjected to political, social, cultural, and economic discrimination. The new racially discriminating constitution gives legal ground for discrimination against the Indians. The malicious goals of the 1987 military coup were realized by this racist constitution. The Fiji rulers claim that the new constitution consider social welfare of the people and protects other races. However, the question arises: How can a constitution that ignores even the majority population protect the rights of others races?

The main purpose of the new constitution is to establish political supremacy of the indigenous Fijians. This constitution requires that the 39 of the seats to the lower house will be occupied by Fijians, 27 by those of Indian origin and the remaining by candidates of other minorities. It is obvious that the Indians, in spite of their majority, will never be able to form a government in Fiji under this provision of the new constitution.

In addition to political rights, Indians have also lost economic rights. According to the Fijian constitution, Indians cannot own land. They have to lease land for agriculture and other purposes. According to a 1975 law, 83 percent of land was given to Fiji's original inhabitants—the Kaivitis. Eleven percent of the land can be sold or bought and 5 percent of the land is owned by the government. The Indians avoided living there for a long time because of the requirement for getting land on lease. The lease period was 18 years in the beginning and has now been increased to 30 years.

What is happening to the people of Indian origin in Fiji has happened in Burma and Uganda in the past. However, our government or the foreign ministry has not tried to learn any thing from these developments. In the context of the new constitution, all that the Indian Government did was to appeal to the democratic nations in the world to condemn this racially discriminating constitution. The Indian spokesman said, "This is a time

when racism is disappearing all over the world and is on the brink of extinction even in South Africa. Such a racist act is retrogression of human civilization. Recognizing racism is a crime against humanity. This was not tolerated even in South Africa and will not be allowed to raise its head in any part of the world."

The truth is that racism has not only raised head in Fiji but also established its feet there. What did India do against it? When will we learn to protect the rights of people of Indian origin?

Regional Affairs

Pakistan Accused of Thwarting Peace Efforts

92AS0238A New Delhi JANSATTA in Hindi 29 Oct 91
p 6

[Editorial: "Pakistan Does Not Desire Peace"]

[Text] In spite of all kinds of talks about an improving relationship, Pakistan opened various propaganda campaigns against India. In addition to training the separatist elements from Punjab and Jammu-Kashmir and ravaging the living conditions in these states, it has started propaganda against India at an international level. Pakistan intelligence agencies have hired agents in foreign countries for this purpose. It is not satisfied with this at all, and is firing at Indian border posts every other day. A few days ago, in its effort to take over several villages in the Poonchh sector, Pakistan shelled Indian border posts for two days. At this time, Pakistani troops had actually entered Indian territory, which is considered to be an actual attack by international laws. Soon after this incident, the Indian and Pakistani prime ministers talked about reducing tensions between the two countries. Prime Minister Narsimha Rao, trusting Nawaz Sharif's assurance, declared that there was a great hope of improving relations with Pakistan. In order to give a concrete form to this assurance, officials from both countries met in Islamabad, where it was decided that neither country would attack the other's border posts. However, on 26 October, just a few days after this meeting, Pakistani troops attacked an Indian border post on the Leh-Sri Nagar Road with heavy artillery and rockets. One soldier was killed in this attack, and several others were wounded. The Pakistani artillery was silenced only after it lost six soldiers in a retaliatory attack.

Defense Minister Sharad Pawar has warned Pakistan and told it that India does not want a war, but he also stated that Pakistani attacks would be returned with full force. The Pakistani attack on the Leh Road was near Kirgil, where the Indian army had liberated an important area from Pakistan in 1971, and had built a security check post on a hill. The Sri Nagar-Laddakh Road had been protected because of this check post. Pakistan had tried to remove this check post several times, and last week's effort was the strongest. Sharad Pawar expressed his regrets that Pakistan did not respect the agreement

made only a week earlier. This is regrettable, but not surprising. The defense minister has said himself that Pakistan is fighting a "cheap war" with us. This war is being fought through the trained terrorists. Pakistan has not succeeded in its efforts, even though it sent trained terrorists to the Kashmir Valley many years ago. The Indian army has closed several of the routes used by Pakistanis to enter Kashmir. The Pakistanis are looking for new routes for illegal entry. Pakistani shelling of a border village in the Jammu area and in Kirgil was done for this purpose. Pakistan would be able to separate Laddakh from Kashmir by weakening important border posts in Kirgil. Therefore, India is not going to ignore this Pakistani conspiracy.

Analyst Lauds Pakistan's Attitude at Talks

92AS0344A Madras THE HINDU in English 5 Nov 91
p 1

[Article by K.K. Katyal: "Pakistan's Attitude Positive at Talks"; quotation marks as published]

[Text] New Delhi, 4 November—The how and why of it may not be clear, but Pakistan's attitude at the recent Foreign Secretary level talks with India was notable for its positive, constructive tone. This was reflected in its stated resolve to maintain the Harare spirit as also in the substance of the discussions, which were free from polemics and stridency. Also evident was a pronounced desire to achieve concrete results—a refreshing contrast with the past.

This has led to optimism, though moderated heavily by caution. How the events move in the bilateral field is a matter of interest now. The sudden change in Pakistan's stance has naturally aroused intense speculation here. It could be the result of the U.S. pressure on Pakistan not to support terrorist activities and to reduce military expenditure. Or a case of re-thinking in Islamabad because of the perceived proximity between India and the United States. Or the reason may be found in the shift in the internal power balance in Pakistan, with a new like-mindedness between the Prime Minister, Mr. Nawaz Sharif, and the new chief of army staff, Gen. Junjuna (The President, Mr. Ghulam Ishaq Khan, represents the third force in the "trioka"). Or is it pragmatism on the part of Mr. Sharif and his realisation that Pakistan stands to gain from improved relations with India?

'Advice' from Washington: If the U.S. pressure has worked effectively in Pakistan, India could not be immune from it. The two countries have the same domestic and international compulsions and would have to reckon with the "advice" from Washington. Apart from other things, the United States has been keen on India accepting safeguards under the nuclear non-proliferation treaty (NPT) and on its reducing the military expenditure. New Delhi conceded one point when it brought down the budgetary provision for defence by Rs.[rupees]500 crores (it will be higher in real terms), but

has stuck to its stand against the NPT, which is considered discriminatory and unjust, because it perpetuates the division between nuclear haves and have-nots.

The NPT, which has 1967 as the cut-off date for according the nuclear power status to various countries, does not take into account a new category—of those who may have acquired weapon capability subsequently—to which both India and Pakistan may possibly belong. In case this lacuna in the treaty is removed, India's objection may lose some of its force. Alternatively, New Delhi may reorient the action plan for nuclear disarmament—outlined by the former Prime Minister, Rajiv Gandhi, at the United Nations in 1988—taking into account the recent global changes. This, then, could, pave the way for new moves by India on the nuclear front.

The United States may be interested in ensuring that India and Pakistan do not go beyond the stage they have reached, thus, putting a cap on the capability already acquired. Simultaneously, it may like a check on the development of missiles, which could serve as a delivery system for nuclear warheads.

There was no dearth of positive pointers during the recent Islamabad talks. The Pakistani side did not brush aside India's allegations of trans-border help to saboteurs in the Kashmir Valley and Punjab, but appeared to recognise New Delhi's concern on that count and willing to apply its mind to the problem, hinting that a concrete indication may be available in the forthcoming talks between the two Prime Ministers, Mr. P.V. Narashimha Rao and Mr. Sharif. On its part, Pakistan spoke of India's interference in Sind. While denying the charge, the Indian side made it clear that a pro-forma reference to Sind was the same thing as its charge of Pakistan's open involvement in the trouble in Kashmir and Punjab.

The following are among the other positive elements of the Islamabad meeting.

(1) Pakistan agreed to provide a list of its nuclear facilities under the bilateral agreement, committing the two countries to non-attack. Till now, it insisted on supplying this information on 1 January, leading to delay in the agreement coming into operation.

(2) It was willing to sign a joint statement forswearing the production, development and use of chemical weapons and was prepared for bilateral talks with India well before the deadline, envisaged in the international convention on chemical weapons.

(3) There were signs of rethinking on trade with India. Pakistan recognised its importance as also of the need for trade harmonisation in the SAARC [South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation] region. However, it was unlikely to accept a tariff-free arrangement for the region.

'Sources' Report Pakistani Intelligence Efforts

92AS0349A Bombay THE SUNDAY TIMES OF INDIA
in English 10 Nov 91 pp 1, 6

[Article by Subhash Kirpekar: "Revamp of Pak Intelligence Wing"]

[Text] New Delhi, 8 November—Pakistan is revamping its Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI) agency to intensify terrorism in Punjab and Jammu and Kashmir and to build up public opinion, particularly in the western world, in favour of Islamabad's known position on Kashmir, well-informed sources here say.

Pakistan's chief of army staff, Gen. Asif Nawaz Janjua, has reportedly decided to replace Maj-Gen. Mohammed Nasir Akhtar as the new director-general [DG] of the ISI. The Pakistan army chief and the new ISI DG belong to the same Punjab regiment and the latter enjoys the full confidence of his chief. Gen Janjua's predecessor, Gen Beg, had appointed Maj-Gen. Durrani as the ISI chief immediately after the dismissal of Mrs. Bhutto by the President, Mr. Ghulam Ishaq Khan, in August 1990.

Two failures of the ISI appear to have prompted the change of guard. One was the abortive bid by [word illegible]-led Mujahideen to capture [word illegible] in Afghanistan. The move failed despite the induction of tanks and other heavy equipment captured by Saudi Arabia from Iraq during the Gulf war and the heavy losses in men and material inflicted by the Afghan air force on the Mujahideens and the Pakistani soldiers in Mujahideen garb who had participated in the offensive.

The second reason is of far greater relevance to India. The Pakistan army chief noticed that the ISI under Maj-Gen. Durrani had failed to enforce discipline in the training camps for the Kashmiri extremists from the valley run by the ISI in Pakistan-occupied Kashmir (PoK) in tandem with the Jamaat-e-Islami, sources said.

Brig Mohammed Saleem continues to head the ISI division responsible for the training of Kashmiri militants and supply of arms and ammunition to them.

One camp, sources said, is located in an abandoned match factory in Chattar Ambore near Muzaffarabad city. Another is in Garhi Dupatta, 25 kms from Muzaffarabad on the banks of the Jhelum river. A third camp is located in Kucha, about 9 km from Chinari and 20 km from the Chakothi area, apart from Bagh and Kahuta, about 15 km from the Poonch area.

One of the main reasons for the ISI's inability to motivate the volunteers for extremism and terrorism from the Kashmir valley now in Pakistan is their refusal to sign a declaration at the beginning of the training that they would work whole-heartedly for Kashmir's Accession to Pakistan.

Following the refusal of many of them to sign this declaration, they were not only denied assistance by the

ISI but also sequestered in different camps and denied any interaction with other volunteers or with the local population.

Sources said these developments had led to a number of incidents of indiscipline and lawlessness in these camps. These were blacked out by the ISI controlled PoK. But it is public knowledge in Muzaffarabad, Mirpur and other towns of PoK as well as in the U.K. and other western countries.

A section of the inmates of Garhi Dupatta camp shouted slogans against Mr. Abdul Qayyum Kha, prime minister of PoK, and his Muslim Conference workers when he visited the camp. This demonstration led to a raid by Captain (retd) Afzal. The slogan shouters were beaten up. A free-for-all followed and the Pakistani army had to intervene and open fire in order to restore order. Five volunteers were killed in the firing and 150 arrested and detained in a place called the Dalai camp.

In another incident, about 80 volunteers who had been kept in the forests for nearly five months waiting for an opportunity to cross over, openly rebelled against the ISI.

Several frustrated volunteers have reportedly fled from these camps and managed to slip into Lahore, Rawalpindi, Karachi and other towns trying to get temporary jobs and secure passports to migrate to some western countries and seek political asylum, sources said.

Concerned over the prospects of a demoralisation in the ranks of the extremists in the valley as a result of these developments in PoK, the ISI and the Pakistan army reportedly decided to engage the Indian army in frequent exchanges of fire on the line of control to help the bottled-up groups to cross over to Kashmir.

Nearly 4,000 volunteers from the valley who were trained in Pak camps during 1990; are still bottled up in PoK for more than a year. They have not been able to infiltrate into Kashmir because of the tight patrolling by the Indian security forces at the border.

Of significance here is the capture by the Indian security forces of Rauf Ali Kashmiri who had the longest history of contact with the ISI, longer than that of Farooq Haider, Amanullah and others. Rauf Ali was considered the kingpin of the ISI operations in Kashmir.

All the same, the Pakistan army wants to convey to extremists the message that it stands by them. It is also trying to induct selected cadres of the Jamaat-e-Islami and Kashmiri personnel of the special branch of the PoK police and the Pakistan intelligence bureau into the groups fighting in the valley in order to provide them with better guidance and direction.

Minister on Pakistani Threat, Defense Preparation

92AS0351A Calcutta THE SUNDAY STATESMAN
in English 10 Nov 91 p 9

[Text] New Delhi, 9 November—Pakistan has smuggled enough triton to give it a capability of making 10 nuclear bombs, going by published facts, according to a top Indian Defence Ministry official, reports PTI.

Addressing a spate of queries from reporters on the Pakistani nuclear programme at the economic editors' conference here, the official said that though the government had no direct evidence to go by, there was enough published facts to calculate that Pakistan had material to possess nuclear bombs.

The Minister of State for Defence, Mr. Krishna Kumar, said that India was "conscious" of the quest by Pakistan of becoming a nuclear power and said it would take all steps to safeguard the nation.

He said that India was not in a position to sign the nuclear non-proliferation treaty (NPT) as it was discriminatory. In the course of his over two-hour dialogue with the economic editors and correspondents, Mr. Krishna Kumar touched upon all aspects of defence ranging from defence preparedness, militancy proportions in Kashmir and Punjab to India entering arms export market. He categorically ruled out any privatization of defence production, but at the same time hinted at off-loading high value and high technology defence items to the private sector.

The minister said that as far as India was concerned it was committed to peaceful use of the nuclear energy. He expressed concern that the country, despite best efforts to normalize relations, had not been able to use "peace dividend" as Pakistan, besides border incursions and continued support to militants in Punjab and Kashmir, was also going ahead with "high voltage" propaganda against India in international forums.

Mr. Krishna Kumar said Pakistan's attempts to make international the Kashmir issue was against the spirit of the Shimla agreement, to which both India and Pakistan stood committed as a means to resolve all bilateral issues.

The minister said the government effort was to make optimistic defence preparedness so that armed forces were at "peak readiness" to reply to any misadventure. He said as part of this strategy, the government was taking a consortium approach to defence production by bringing in competition and running these units on commercial basis.

The Minister said there was no "tangible let up" in supply of vital spare for the Soviet frontline equipment in use with three services and neither was there any "reluctance" on the part of the Soviet Union to adhere to protocols in existence on these.

The Soviet Union is going in for market economy which has its demands for hard currency. But we are negotiating with them and are hopeful of positive results to ensure that these protocols are extended," Mr. Krishna Kumar said.

He said negotiations with the Soviet Union had also touched upon co-production of licensed Soviet equipment in India and their exports to third countries. "Soviet clearance has been given for export of some items and some countries already identified" he added.

The minister said India was seeking to enter into joint ventures not only with the Soviet Union, but other countries also for joint production of high technology defence weapons and their subsequent exports. The defence production units had been given powers to enter negotiations with other RMS [expansion not given] producers and developers he added.

The minister of state for defence said there had been suggestions of setting up of a defence export organization within the ministry, but no final decision had yet been taken. He said this year defence exports had already registered the Rs[rupees]136 crore mark with another Rs 400 crores orders under negotiations.

To specific questions whether India was entering into a deal with a British firm for co-production of 155 mm propelled howitzer as reported in a section of the Press, the Defence Secretary, Mr. N.N. Vohra, said there was no such immediate plans.

He said under the agreement with Bofors, there had to be technology transfer to India for manufacturing both 155 mm guns and self-propelled Howitzers, but these had stopped owing to "the problems you all are aware of." He said subsequently India had started the manufacture of 155 mm ammunition within the country.

The Secretary, Defence Production, Mr. N. Raghunathan, said at present Indian defence exports related mostly to non-battlefield items though it included medium artillery guns, light arms and ammunition.

Both Mr. Krishna Kumar as well as the scientific adviser to the Defence Ministry, Mr. V.S. Aurnachalam denied that there was any international pressure being exerted on India to restrict defence expenditure or on transfer of high technology warfare items.

Mr. Aurnachalam denied a foreign correspondent's query whether Germany had refused to supply engine for the main battle tank Arjun because of India's human rights record. He said, in fact India had three offers to choose from, including the USA. He said the tank has already undergone trials in the Rajasthan desert and would be inducted soon.

The scientific adviser said that the integrated missile project of the country was getting "top priority" and that the surface to surface missile Prithvi and anti-aircraft

Trishul missile had already started being inducted in the Army, while orders from Air Force and Navy were awaited.

Pakistani Minister's Remarks in Sri Lanka Protested

92AS0350A Calcutta THE SUNDAY STATESMAN
in English 10 Nov 91 p 1

[Text] Colombo, 9 November—India today lodged a protest with Sri Lanka for allowing the Pakistani Prime Minister, Mr. Nawaz Sharif, to use his official visit here to indulge in anti-India propaganda, reports UNI.

A note delivered by the Indian Deputy High Commissioner, Mr. Cherry George, to a senior official in the Sri Lankan Foreign Ministry protested against allowing the Pakistani Prime Minister to use a solemn occasion like the banquet hosted by the Sri Lankan president to rake up the Kashmir issue.

Mr. Sharif had raked up the issue at the banquet on Thursday and said Pakistan supported the right to self-determination of the Kashmiri people.

Mr. P.V. Narasimha Rao today said the government had taken a few hard decisions on Kashmir and more such decisions would be taken if necessary.

Mr. Rao was speaking to reporters at Dabolim airport (naval area) in Goa during his brief transit halt on way to Dharwad in Karnataka to address an election rally.

PTI adds: The BJP [Bharatiya Janata Party] vice-president and M.P. [member of Parliament], Mr. K.L. Sharma, today said India should adopt a stronger attitude towards Pakistan in view of its consistent anti-India stance.

He told reporters in Jaipur that India should send a clear message to Pakistan that its "unbecoming behaviour" of harbouring Punjab and Kashmir militants and supplying them with arms would not be tolerated.

He said India always strived for good-neighbourly relations with Pakistan, which was not reciprocated.

He said the troubled States of Punjab and Jammu and Kashmir needed a firm and clear policy by the Centre and not "experiments."

Another report said, Mr. Narasimha Rao announced today that India was prepared to participate in the SAARC [South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation] meeting in Sri Lanka, "even if it is for a day."

"There is no question of India not attending. To say that India sabotaged the meeting is totally false," he said, replying to a question.

Mr. Rao said he has cancelled his visit only after being informed about the postponement of the summit. "I will

attend the summit. "I will attend the summit once Colombo, the host nation, announces fresh dates," he said.

Plans for Trade, Cooperation With Iran

92AS0343A Madras *THE HINDU* in English 23 Nov 91 p 9

[Article by K.K. Katyal: "Indo-Iran Ties Not Hit by Reactor Issue"]

[Text] New Delhi, 22 November—The controversy over the proposed sale by India of a nuclear reactor to Iran—and the fall-out of the American objections to it—has not affected the plans for bilateral Indo-Iranian cooperation, as worked out during the External Affairs Minister, Mr. Madhavsingh Solanki's recent talks in Tehran.

Soon delegations from each side will visit the other to finalise the details of specific deals and cooperative projects to be undertaken by them. A team from the oil companies in Iran will come here to settle the terms of the supply of oil to India.

A tentative proposal envisaged the sale of 4 million tonnes by Iran during 1991-92. This quantity could go up as a result of further negotiations which would also settle the price and the mode of payment.

And a team of officials will go to Tehran to find out the areas of cooperation in petro-chemicals, power plants, construction projects (in parts of the country ravaged by the war) and business management. To facilitate the inter-action between the business personnel from the two countries, the procedures for issuing visas will be liberalised. In such cases, not more than a week will be taken in issuing the travel documents.

The details of the oil supply and Indian role in the construction projects would have been finalised during Mr. Solanki's visit, had his meeting with the concerned ministers not been cancelled because of his sudden illness. His visit to Isphian was also cancelled for this reason. India will provide facilities, including scholarships, for some 100 students from Iran in Indian universities for study in engineering, medicine, business management and the like.

Kashmir issue: At the political level, India had reasons to be satisfied with the understanding of its case on Kashmir and Indo-Pakistan relations. The very fact of high-level contacts between the two countries, on the eve of the Organisation of Islamic Conference (OIC) and their holding a meeting of the Joint Commission was significant.

Last year a scheduled session of the Commission was cancelled at the last moment—just when the External Affairs Minister of the day, Mr. I.K. Gujral was about to leave for Teheran because of Iran's pique over happenings in Kashmir and related matters.

As was natural, that left a trail of bitterness. Gradually, the two sides not only got over that difficulty but were also able to give a positive twist to the bilateral relationship.

India and Iran have a lot in common in their views of the global situation and the challenges of the post-cold war period. They are agreed, for instance that the Gulf region could have a permanent, genuine peace only if there is no outside interference.

They stand for cooperation among the developing countries, and have an equally strong desire to activate the non-aligned movement. For this, it was agreed to convene a meeting of the Foreign Ministers of four NAM members—India, Iran, Indonesia and Algeria—before the Jakarta summit in September next year.

Navy Seizes Ship Smuggling Arms to Sri Lanka

92AS0353A Calcutta *THE TELEGRAPH* in English 12 Nov 91 p 1

[Text] Madras, 10 November—In the first major seizure on the Indian seas, the Navy has unmasked the supply line of arms, ammunition and clothes from Singapore to the Sri Lankan Tamil militants.

After three days on the sea with the captured "smugglers," the Naval ship INS Saryu, sailed into Madras harbour escorting the seized vessel laden with arms, ammunition, uniforms and medicine. A smaller boat, into which the 'contraband' meant for Jaffna was to have been transferred, was also caught but it developed a leak and sank while being towed to Madras.

Though the 10 Sri Lankan Tamils on board the two vessels pleaded "innocent" and also jettisoned some arms and a lot of communication equipment including transmitters, the Navy boarded the bigger vessel, rounded up the occupants and recovered the goods thrown into the sea.

The bravado of the smuggling vessel in heading for the Tamil Nadu-Pondicherry coast has puzzled the police and the Navy. The ship and the boat were sighted at 6 p.m. on 6 November about 10 nautical miles east of Karaikal.

Enough intelligence is available with the security agencies, both at the Centre and in Tamil Nadu, that the LTTE [Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam] has been regularly smuggling arms and ammunition from Singapore to Jaffna. They transfer the contraband in mid-sea to smaller boats which are ferried to well-hidden lagoons in the north coast of Sri Lanka.

But for the first time since vigilance off the coast was stepped up following the imposition of President's rule in Tamil Nadu on 30 January this year, such a big vessel was openly sailing towards the shore and challenging the security along the vast coastline. Whether they were heading for Tamil Nadu and planned to dump or conceal the huge cache of arms and communication equipment

was not known. The 10 arrested persons have been handed over to the 'Q' branch of the state police.

Documents seized: Sources said a "precious diary" and incriminating documents were seized from the ship. The diary was a veritable inventory of all the arms and ammunition smuggled by the vessel since 21 March this year. The list of articles included Surface-to-Air Missiles (SAMs) and RPG [rocket-propelled grenade] to conventional weapons such as rifles and stocks of explosives.

The police picked up some vital addresses, names and telephone numbers at various places and hoped to establish the final links and channels of flow. With the Naval headquarters, the Central agencies and the Tamil Nadu police involved in this coordinated action, a concrete follow up from the leads could provide a wealth of information, the sources said.

Since a lot of formalities had to be gone through before the Sri Lankan Tamils could be handed over the police after the ship docked here around 7:15 a.m. today, the detailed questioning is expected to begin tonight or tomorrow.

The State police gave out the names of the detained persons, but their real identities had to be established. It was possible that there could be some representatives of the arms agent in Singapore, their hired men provided by the militants and some militants who might have come to take delivery of the consignment at mid-sea, the sources said.

Two features of the operation that stood out seemed to be the daring of the militants in trying to penetrate the security cordon on the coast and the vigilance of the Navy and Coast Guard. It also justified the presence of seven Naval detachments along the Tamil Nadu coast—described even by the Chief of the Naval Staff, Admiral L. Ramdas, as proof of the top priority accorded to the coastal State.

Internal Affairs

Prime Minister Addresses Trade Fair Openings

92AS0355A Madras THE HINDU in English 15 Nov 91
p 7

[Text] New Delhi, 14 November—The Prime Minister, Mr. P.V. Narasimha Rao, today said the new liberalisation policies undertaken by his government were irreversible.

Inaugurating the 10-day 11th India International Fair at the Pragati Maidan here, the prime minister said the government had undertaken the "massive task" of liberalising the economy after careful consideration. There was no need to slow down but to proceed more speedily towards progress.

The process of liberalisation was initiated by Indira Gandhi and accelerated by Rajiv Gandhi, but there was

some "hesitancy" on the part of successive governments in pursuing the same. Circumspection was exercised. "But today there is no room for such hesitancy nor is it desirable. If we do not watch the speed of our progress in this direction, the decisions taken with eyes and ears open will be detrimental to the economy," he said.

The prime minister urged the developed world to treat the developing countries, including India, with a certain amount of understanding and not to "straitjacket" them into a system that did not suit their policies and prevailing socio-economic conditions.

Though India had advanced rapidly it still continued to be a developing country. The rules of the developed nations should fit into our policies, conditions and systems. These issues had to be taken up at diplomatic levels. Moreover, policies were tailored to suit not only a certain philosophy but also conditions in the country. It was a "complicated exercise" no doubt, he said.

Impetus: The core of the Trade Fair was to integrate the country's economy with that of the fast changing global economy. As the economy and industry come of age and compete in the world more trade, give and take, and mutual consultations would be the outcome, he said. This had received an impetus with the liberalisation of the economy. This Fair, he hoped, would be a precursor to bigger fairs with participation by more countries so that the integration process could take place at a deeper level.

Mr. Rao said headway had been made following the opening up to foreign investment. There was a demand for further liberalisation. The restrictions imposed on imports would be relaxed a little but too much of relaxation could affect the economy and lead to trouble.

Reoriented: While asserting that the new policies were irreversible, Mr. Rao said "fine tuning" of the economy would have to become a daily feature. "We know what is good for India. The policies have been reoriented. We are no exception. We are giving a direction to our policy which is essentially pragmatic and not opportunistic. We are building a system which is needed for our economy. We do not want to change our direction," he said as a word of reassurance to the foreign participants and large number of diplomats present at the ceremony.

The prime minister said that the Fair had assumed importance not only within the country but also internationally. Visitors from all parts of the country made it a point to visit the Trade Fair. These people have varied interests, he added. Also it acted as a window on the country's growth in various fields and opened up a rich market as lots of business got transacted here.

Referring to specialised fairs, he said that he was very much impressed with the foreign participation at the book fairs. It was equally heartening to see that Indian publishers were improving their quality year by year.

Major revolution: The Minister of State for Commerce, Mr. P. Chidambaram, in his welcome address, said the country had embarked upon a major revolution, under Mr. Narasimha Rao's leadership in the past four months and emerged as a brave new nation. "We have freed trade, delicensed industry, welcomed foreign investment and shed our fear of the multinational companies. We are ready to march in step with the world," he said.

All that the country asked from the developed world was "fair and non-discriminatory treatment" for the developing countries," he added.

Paying tributes to Jawaharlal Nehru on his birth anniversary, Mr. Chidambaram described him as the founder and builder of modern India. This Fair was a tribute to Nehru's vision, statesmanship and wise leadership.

The Minister said the first Fair had helped the country to emerge in the eyes of the world as an industrial nation. Today, we had the wisdom and will to open up more, he reiterated.

The Trade Fair Authority of India Chairman, Mr. Mooza Raza, said nearly 100 participants from 18 countries and over 3,000 companies were taking part. The Fair this time devotes special attention to the themes of agricultural machinery, fertilizers, energy conservation, building materials and building technologies and use of graphic designs.

'India Forum' Meet Addressed by Prime Minister

92AS0347A Madras THE HINDU in English 19 Nov 91 p 1

[Text] New Delhi, 18 November—The Prime Minister, Mr. P.V. Narasimha Rao, has described the outcome of the just concluded by-elections to the Lok Sabha and some State Assemblies as being indicative of certain trends of thinking regarding the policies of the Central Government initiated four months ago.

He said, "I do not want to oversimplify either the results or its message," but remarked, "to that extent (the thinking trend indicative of the Government's economic policies), you may take it as true though we have to still analyse the results in other aspects."

Addressing the India Forum meeting, organised by the Confederation of Engineering Industry under the auspices of the World Economic Forum here today, the prime minister, looking every bit confident especially after his resounding victory from Nandyal parliamentary election, said the results were one thing and facing the situation was another. "But I assure you we will be able to manage on both the fronts." As if he was replying to the many questions raised at various forums in the past on the issue of stability of the government's new economic policies, Mr. Narasimha Rao said the government in the last five months had acted speedily to dispel the uncertainty over India's economic climate. Not only had

the policies received broad-based support at home, but also had been welcomed abroad.

Balancing act: Though in the last ten years the growth of both agriculture and industry had increased substantially and new markets had been created, the government was now keen to release the energies for a further increase in agricultural and industrial production besides updating technology. Many regulatory measures had been removed because they had outlived their usefulness and there was general consensus today over the new economic policy—in Parliament, press, business, etc. However, there appeared to be some misgivings in the organised labour sector, but even it had shown understanding and restraint. Mr. Narasimha Rao said that in a sense he was attempting and actually doing a balancing act. In this context, he referred to the creation of the National Renewal Fund to minimise the impact on labour as a consequence of the new economic policy changes.

Dig at industry: Having a dig at the industry, he said that many of the cases referred to BIFR [Bureau of Industrial Finance and Reconstruction] actually showed that it was industry which was responsible for a unit going sick and not labour. However, on the industry's demand for removing import curbs, he said that though the balance of payments position had shown an improvement, "import compression" measures would be eased gradually. The prime minister said that while some laws had already been enacted a few more would be passed either in the coming session of Parliament or during the budget session in 1992.

Mr. Narasimha Rao said there were no shortcuts and the process would be long and painful. "What is really needed is sincerity and transparent honesty which alone will inspire the people." "The moment they suspect the intention of the government that will be the end," the prime minister said and remarked, "more than content, it is that approach of running the government which would be exceedingly important in the next one or two years."

State sector: Referring to the State sector, Mr. Narasimha Rao said as part of the restructuring programme, the government would increase its role in family planning, welfare, education, health, etc. "But I will reduce the burden on the State sector," he said. According to the prime minister, the public sector in India was not the entire sum total of the economy. For instance, he said, the largest single economic activity in the country was agriculture which was in the private sector.

While tracing the history of the public sector in the country, the prime minister said the country today required the private sector also in many areas. But it did not mean the demise of the public sector and, in this context, referred to the party manifesto to state that the public sector would explore new areas of frontier technology.

Replying to a question on whether the government would be able to check any tendency or efforts to prevent the liberalisation process, the prime minister said, "Any force which deliberately tried to defeat this very important process, I will fight." Mr. Narasimha Rao, responding to another query said India would continue to voice the concern of the developing countries and would not take any individual course.

Rao Addresses Indira Gandhi Memorial Meeting

92AS0361A Madras THE HINDU in English 20 Nov 91
p 7

[Article by THE HINDU staff reporter: "PM Wants Efforts To Bridge Economic Gap"]

[Text] New Delhi, Nov. 19. The Prime Minister, Mr. P. V. Narasimha Rao, today called for a new consensus to bridge the economic gap between the developed and the developing world which was the basic cause of tensions and threatened peace. "This is not possible until and unless an international economic environment that allowed the developing nations to widen their options for economic growth is created."

Inaugurating an international conference on "Challenges of the 21st Century" in memory of Indira Gandhi, organised by the Indira Gandhi Memorial Trust, the Prime Minister said "as we approach the next century, the challenge of evolving this consensus looms large before us." A new consensus was needed in the areas of critical importance to future development, he said.

When arriving at this consensus, based on equity, all the historical and social conditions as they exist in the developing nations must be taken into account, he said.

Mr. Rao's inaugural address was peppered with quotes from people ranging from Mahatma Gandhi to Rajiv Gandhi and writers and poets such as T. S. Eliot, Ogden Nash and Bertrand Russell.

As India was evolving programmes on how best to tackle its population problem, it was clear that investments would have to be made so that population became a useful asset. "The success of these efforts would depend upon the international environment we are placed in, the availability of resources, the free flow of scientific and related information," he said.

Mr. Rao hoped that in times like these, the United Nations would take into account the concerns and aspirations of all humankind and help it in finding peace, security, equity and prosperity.

The dramatic changes taking place in the world such as the end of the East-West confrontation, surge of democratic urges and aspirations of the people coupled with advancements in science and technology had opened up revolutionary possibilities for the common good, Mr. Rao said. Yet there were several disturbing trends. Weapon systems had not been sufficiently dismantled,

local conflicts continued, and an equity-based world order was yet to be achieved, he said.

"We have to guard against the very real danger of these trends bringing to a nought the possibility of ensuring for ourselves and the future generations a more secure and better future," Mr. Rao said. "Let not the 21st century become the century of blighted hopes," he warned.

Mr. Rao said science and technology were both a boon and a bane to mankind. Advances in science had opened up new vistas of progress even as they had brought with them the powers of utter devastation and to a considerable extent divorced the individual from the larger social purpose, he said.

"There is a very real danger of science becoming autonomous of social purpose," he said. Arms race, he said, had been fuelled by scientific advancement. "It has led to a situation where 'smart' bombs are becoming increasingly 'intelligent,' one stage of weapons development is leading to another, almost in a self-perpetuating motion," he added.

"The challenge of the 21st century seems to be, simply to ensure that a set of creators do not sabotage the good job done by the creator," the Prime Minister said.

Earlier welcoming the delegates from India and abroad, Mrs. Sonia Gandhi, chairperson of the Indira Gandhi Memorial Trust, said the conference had taken place at a crucial time when changes were taking place in the world. In India too changes were taking place. Traditions were tempered with changes, she said. Mrs. Sonia Gandhi, who also presided over the inaugural session, called upon the delegates to talk together and think alike for the good of all mankind.

Mrs. Gandhi said that Rajiv Gandhi, who shared the ideals of Indira Gandhi, was to have inaugurated the conference himself and had planned it with meticulous care. "But that was not to be," she said. The conference was planned for February 1991 but the Gulf war intervened and it had to be postponed.

Rao Speaks to Congress-I Parliamentary Party

92AS0363A Madras THE HINDU in English 21 Nov 91
p 1

[Article by THE HINDU special correspondent: "PM Raps AIR, Doordarshan"; quotation marks, boldface words as published]

[Text] New Delhi, Nov. 20. The Prime Minister [PM], Mr. P. V. Narasimha Rao, today deplored the poor quality of Doordarshan and AIR [All India Radio] programmes, and called for improving their quality to such a level that the viewer should cease to be charmed by foreign television channels within a year.

Addressing the Congress(I) Parliamentary Party today on the eve of the winter session of Parliament, he said the people had become uninterested in the Doordarshan

and the All India Radio. People living in the border regions had begun to watch Pakistan and Bangladesh television as also other foreign television programmes.

A CPP(I) [Congress (I) Parliamentary Party] release issued by its secretary, Mr. T. Chandrashekhar Reddy, said the Prime Minister 'stressed the need for making India's electronic media more effective by improving the quality of programmes'.

Speaking in both Hindi and English for about an hour, Mr. Rao is also understood to have observed that the Government had not so far been able to make an impact on the price front. He also suggested, according to CPP(I) sources, that not enough had been done to extend the Public Distribution System to the needy.

His Government had been able to take positive steps to implement most of the key promises in the party's election manifesto prepared under the guidance of Rajiv Gandhi, but had so far been beaten by the tenacity of the price rise, he said. Success in checking the price rise 'had not been up to expectations', the CPP(I) release quoted him as saying. The Prime Minister also urged the members to offer suggestions to help curb escalating prices.

Master Plan: In dealing with the price question, the Prime Minister emphasised the need to curtail edible oil imports which constituted a big drain on foreign exchange, and for the formulation of a master-plan to expand the production of oilseeds. Concerned with the magnitude of the problem, Mr. Rao also said that people should be induced to change their food habits, if need be.

The Prime Minister also chose the CPP(I) forum to address the question of absenteeism in both Houses of Parliament, which had become a source of considerable embarrassment for the ruling party in the last session. He made a 'personal appeal' to party MPs [members of Parliament] to be regular and punctual in attendance.

Mr. Rao went to the extent of asking members, including Ministers, to postpone personal business till after the session was over. He called on his ministers to postpone even foreign tours unless the reasons were immediate and compelling.

Mr. Rao assured members that national gold would not again be pledged to foreign banks. All the gold that had been pledged by his government soon after it assumed office had been redeemed as this had something to do with national prestige, he said.

Disaster averted: The Prime Minister affirmed his Government's determination to raise the country's foreign exchange reserves to Rs.[rupees] 10000 crores. He said the last Congress(I) Government led by the late Rajiv Gandhi had left behind foreign exchange reserves of Rs. 6000 crores. Not only was this frittered by successor governments but borrowings incurred to the tune of Rs. 5000 crores. These had now been cleared and reserves restored to the Rs. 6000 crore level, Mr. Rao said. An 'economic disaster' was averted.

He also noted a sea-change in the attitude towards India of foreign dignitaries now visiting the country. This, he observed, was an 'unmistakable indication' that the world had once again begun to look at India with appreciation.

At the outset Mr. Rao said that the recent by-elections had proved beyond doubt that the Congress(I) had not only established itself as 'the most favoured party in the country', but also as 'the most capable party' to run the Government at the Centre. He, however, appealed to partymen to analyse the reasons for the setbacks suffered in U.P. [Uttar Pradesh] and Bihar, and to work hard to restore the party to its earlier position in these States.

In his capacity as CPP(I) secretary, Mr. Reddy introduced the newly elected MPs, including Mr. Rao, to the CPP(I) general body. Felicitating the Prime Minister on his win by an unprecedented margin, he said, 'It is a testimony not only to your personal stature and popularity in your home State, but a very significant endorsement by the people of the policies and programmes of our party.'

In a press release later, the AICC(I) spokesman [All India Congress Committee-India], Mr. C. P. Thakur, said the Congress(I) was amused to find JD [Janata Dal] leaders putting up a brave face with the electoral performance of their party 'totally forgetting their political oblivion'.

PTI reports:

Mr. Rao is leaving for Paris on November 25 on his way to Caracas in Venezuela to attend the second summit of the group of 15 non-aligned and developing countries (G-15), it was officially announced here.

Curbing Punjab Militancy: Amelioration Urged 92AS0057B Jalandhar PUNJAB KESARI in Hindi 18 Sep 91 p 2

[Excerpts from Captain Amrendra Singh's commentary reported in PUNJAB KESARI: "History Will Not Forgive Akalis If They Keep Quiet About Militancy"]

[Text] New Delhi, 17 September (The HINDU)—The anguish of Punjab continues. Nobody pays any attention to Punjab until there are 30 murders there. In spite of 11 years of continued violence here, the Narsimha Rao government took two months to appoint a new governor to this state. Mr. Surinder Nath is the 10th governor during these years. The new government has neither announced any policy nor has it made any changes in the government. The governor has not appointed any new advisers, either.

Governments led by Indira Gandhi, Rajiv Gandhi, and Chandra Shekhar came and went, and now a Congress Party government has been established under the leadership of Narsimha Rao. They tried to deal with Rodey and Manjit Singh at different times. All this was done with the mistaken notion that minority groups can be

used to satisfy the majority Sikh population. The fact that the militants have three Panthak committees and each of these committees have four or five militant groups associated with them was totally ignored. Every militant group has been opposing the others and trying to separate them from the mainstream Sikh population. That is why these militant groups have been accusing each other of being puppets in hands of the New Delhi government.

The problems in Punjab were caused by many factors. First, the stringent attitude of (Indira Gandhi's) government toward Akali demands forced the leadership of Akalis on Bhindrewala.

The second was the Operation Bluestar. This gave the Punjab problem a totally new dimension. It made the Sikhs very angry.

The third reason was when the liberal Akalis were hurt after Operation Bluestar when Rajiv Gandhi failed to follow-up on the Rajiv-Langowal agreement. This gave the militants the opportunity to announce that no central government can be fair to the Sikhs.

As the result of the failure of the Rajiv-Langowal agreement, Panthak committees and militants became the winners.

These militants began to receive weapons and training from Pakistan. This helped Pakistan cause a situation in Punjab similar to the one in Kashmir.

The people are scared now because of the militants. At the same time, the liberals in the Akali Dal have been disappointed. In Punjab, especially in the border districts, the people have become opposed to the militants for the last few years because of arson, extortion, and other militant actions. If today we hold free and fair elections without the fear of AK-47s, there is no doubt that a clear majority will vote for the parties that want to establish peace here and resolve the Punjab issue within the framework of the Indian Constitution. The opportunity we had in 1982 and just before or after Operation Bluestar to establish peace in Punjab is long gone now. The whole problem has become very complicated and the attitudes have become very rigid because of the religious mood and sectarian feelings.

It is important to first control the militants. However, it cannot be done by using the military. We must put political pressure on Pakistan to stop supporting the militants. Military action should be taken only when all these strategies fail.

The second problem is that the militants have the support of the educated unemployed.

The labor force in Punjab is increasing by 2.4 million annually and the population of the state is increasing by 23 percent. We can stop these unemployed from joining the militants by giving them employment.

Third, the country should be made a federation after amending the constitution. Various rights should be decentralized. Except for defense, railways, communication, and foreign relations, all functions should be given to the states.

Fourth, the police should be cautious in its activities in this state. Policemen have been seen involved in looting several times.

We must approve the Punjabi demands for solving the Punjab problem. Chandigarh should be given to Punjab. The water issue should be given to the Supreme Court. Other legitimate demands should also be approved. The Rajiv-Langowal agreement should be implemented. It is extremely important that the demands of the people in Punjab be met. It is important to grant the demands made by the Hindus, Sikhs, and other religious groups. No support or importance should be given to any political or militant group with vested interests.

Finally, the Sikh political leadership should read the writing on the wall and try to understand the seriousness of the situation.

The "public and private" opinions of the Akali Dal are known to everyone, except for those who sympathize with the militants. If the fear of AK-47 hinders the public activities of these leaders, then they should quit politics.

The glorious Sikh history is full of the tradition of bravery and honesty. If the leadership still moves with this venerable tradition and wants to provide leadership, then a tragedy can be averted. Otherwise, the blood that is flowing in Punjab will keep flowing. If the present political leadership did not condemn the present violent atmosphere and try to end it, then they will be accused of neglecting their duties in the history that will be written.

Punjab Elections Planned End of February

92AS0352A Calcutta THE TELEGRAPH in English
12 Nov 91 p 1

[Text] New Delhi, 11 November (PTI, UNI): The government is all set to hold elections in Punjab by February-end and President's rule in the trouble-torn northern state will not be extended further, the prime minister, Mr. P.V. Narasimha Rao, said today.

Informally talking to a group of journalists, Mr. Narasimha Rao said: "This time we do not want elections to be postponed in Punjab." Asked if the Bill seeking to prevent non-serious candidates from contesting elections in Punjab would be passed before February, the prime minister said such a measure should apply to non-serious candidates everywhere.

Asked if the government would consider amendment to the anti-defection law to remove the lacunae that were noticed in its implementation, Mr. Narasimha Rao said the basic structure or framework on the anti-defection law could not be disturbed but removal of lacunae could be considered.

He said the government would also bring forward legislation to provide that elections are not countermanded in the event of death of Independent candidates.

Replying to a question on the posting of Mr. K.P.S. Gill as Punjab's director-general of police again, Mr. Narasimha Rao said the government had been concerned about the law and order situation in the state.

Government's Inaction on Kashmir Scored

Brave Steps Needed

92AS0234A Varnasi AJ in Hindi 27 Oct 91 p 6

[Article by Shashank Ray: "Kashmir: Waiting for an Initiative"]

[Text] Kashmir is waiting for the central government to take the initiative. P.V. Narsimha Rao's government was installed at the Center on 21 June. Since then, there have been talks about some new initiatives about Kashmir. There was talk about some announcement to be made. Taking a comprehensive action about reinstatement of political stability after the disruptions caused by the changes in the governor's position, administrative changes, too much interference by local officials in the state's administration, and anti-Pakistan militant organizations was always considered an effective step. This idea was touted even more when Mr. S.V. Chavan, home minister, visited Sri Nagar. However, nothing was done about this "comprehensive initiative."

It appears from the activities in the Home Ministry and information received from the government that only nominal changes will be made in the beginning. Some steps will be taken just for show, and no changes will be made in the government. The central government is thinking about establishing a dialogue with the militant groups. Mr. S.V. Chavan had hinted about this during his trip to Sri Nagar. It appears that this dialogue cannot be established. The second priority for the government appears to be to increase the role of local officials in the government so that neglect and separatist feelings are removed, at least at the government level.

P.V. Narsimha Rao's government has concluded that the people in the Kashmir Valley are frustrated with the present situation. Separatist feeling was very deep. The militants have a strong influence in the valley; however, the people are fed up because of the description of daily life and the total paralysis of economic activities. They want to get out of the present tragic situation. They cannot see the way out of this tunnel made by the militants. In this situation, taking the people of the valley in confidence would be the first step in resolving the Kashmir issue.

Who will take the initiative? Is it possible to establish a strategy totally different from what has been happening until now? If we consider the situation of the people in the Kashmir Valley, and make the situation tension free, then this would be a good strategy. We cannot deny the

existence of police rule in the valley. After the Farooq government was dismissed, the Kashmir Valley had been controlled by military reserve forces. It is about time for us to give a chance to civilian government instead of the military reserves.

At present, the administration of Kashmir is run by the governor, his advisers, chief minister, the military, border security forces, the central reserve police, and the state police. The state ministers, people's representatives, and local officials have almost no part in the administration. Most of the high officials are not Kashmiris. Some of these have a good understanding of the problems that the state is facing. They have developed this understanding over a number of years of work here. In spite of this, the neglect by Jammu-Kashmir cadre officials and the feeling that non-Kashmiris are controlling the state have negative psychological effects. Control over government by outside people has not only negatively affected the local people, but has also given an opportunity for separatist elements to spread wrong propaganda.

Therefore, inclusion of local people in the government is a right and practical step. The people in the valley are fed up with the meaningless terrorist activity and the activities of security forces. Governor J. N. Saksena told in an interview that the people are angry at the militants and are upset with the security forces. There is no doubt about this feeling. The feeling of separatism is sometimes caused for valid reasons, and other times without any reason. People honestly feel that the Kashmir issue should be resolved by talks. They expect that those who had been arrested for six months to one year should be released. However, it is not possible to do so. After investigation with the security forces, more than 6,000 militants have been released. However, releasing them all at once is not possible.

The people in the valley desire a change in the government. One reason for this desire is their feeling that the activities of the militants are meaningless. The people in the valley are feeling restless because of the ongoing skirmishes between the militants and the security forces for the last four to five years. The central government can take advantage of the situation by taking the initiative. The atmosphere in the valley can be improved by making administrative changes, increasing the role of local officials in government, and the reinstatement of political stability, or holding talks with anti-Pakistan militant groups.

Bringing about political reforms and getting the militants to the negotiating table are not easy tasks. The National Conference and its leader, Farooq Abdullah, have lost the trust of the people in the valley. The central government is giving unnecessary importance to Farooq Abdullah. Establishing political stability in this state through Farooq Abdullah could be a suicidal decision. The assassination of Maulvi Farooq, Ghulam Mustafa Mir, and other such leaders has created a political

vacuum in the valley. Therefore, starting political reform in the valley with the help of Kashmir politicians is a very difficult task.

S.V. Chavan had expressed a desire to talk with the anti-Pakistan militant groups during his visit to Sri Nagar. An effort has been made by the central government to establish a dialogue with anti-Pakistan militant groups for some time. Some work was done in this direction during the period of the National Front government also. The problem now, however, is that pro-Pakistan militants have made these groups unimportant. The main anti-Pakistan group is Jammu- Kashmir Mukti Morcha. This group was very powerful in the past, but the Pakistan-trained militants have killed the leaders of this group one by one. Pakistan used a strategy in this context, according to which they did not only make the anti-Pakistani militant groups ineffective, but also did not allow them to rise again. Pakistan had established dozens of new militant groups during the last year. At present, there are more than 150 militant groups in the valley.

Talks with anti-Pakistan militant groups are possible only when pro-Pakistan militant groups are defeated by security forces. The security forces have been successful to an extent in this effort. They have succeeded in this campaign in the valley. There has been an increase in the apprehension of militants in border areas also. The security forces have made their presence known in far-flung areas of the valley. They have established their control over many occupied areas. Some areas are still under the militants' control. In some areas, these militants are also given training; however, there is no permanent "free" area. It is not possible for the security forces to be present everywhere. Still, they have not allowed any militant group to establish a permanent influence in one area. Because of the security forces' alertness, the entry and exit of the militants at border areas has been reduced. It is impossible to totally seal the border; however, the security forces have created a situation so that the militants must wait for opportunities to return from Pakistan.

The pressure of security forces on the pro-Pakistan militant groups and the disillusion of the people about these groups have created a situation for the central government to take the initiative. This is a good opportunity for resolving the problem. Because there are so many militant groups, there is also some loss of direction among them, and some militants are burned out now. Others are disillusioned. Even the most bigoted militants have begun to talk about the struggle in 10 or 20 years. In other words, they mean that they do not expect to achieve their goal in a short time. This has led to the birth of the feeling in the valley that the problem cannot be solved with guns. There is a feeling that an appropriate atmosphere has been created for resolving the situation with talks. However, this situation can be manipulated only if the central government takes the initiative. So far, the central government has not made any progress.

Government Hesitating

92AS0234B Varnasi AJ in Hindi 25 Oct 91 p 6

[Editorial: "How Long Will the Central Government Be Inactive?"]

[Text] The central government, after failing to control the militants, has lost the trust of the people, and is also failing in its effort to implement strict policies. When the governor of Punjab suggested that military assistance be sent because of the increasing terrorist activity in the state, and keeping in mind the upcoming election, the central government had agreed. Why is it dragging its feet in implementing this suggestion? Is the government planning to send the army to Punjab when all Punjab has been burned as a result of the devilish deeds of the terrorists? When the government sent the army to Assam to control the ULFA [United Liberation Front of Assam] terrorists, we saw the positive results of that effort. Why isn't the government deploying troops to control the terrorists in Punjab and Kashmir? When will we put out the fires that V.P. Singh's Morcha government started? Using the slogan of "class system" to start clashes between the upper and lower castes just for position is a crime that will be punished by the people, if not by the government. Chandra Shekhar's government created a positive environment in the beginning. However, he did not leave any stone unturned to encourage terrorism. Now he says that if his government had remained in power for a few more days, then the temple-mosque issue would have been resolved. We ask him if he wants power once again. Can't he create a miracle from his personal leadership without joining the government?

Recently the terrorists in Punjab recreated the Lanka-burning scene, in which Ravana was killed, by burning 31 banks in Punjab. The government of Punjab watched this Lanka-burning like a silent spectator. Why is the government unsuccessful at stopping the anarchy in Punjab? Were the intelligence agencies in Punjab unaware of this incident? Were these agencies under the influence of opium, viewing all this in a partial stupor? Or were these agency personnel also silent spectators, afraid of becoming victims of terrorists' bullets? Do the intelligence bureau personnel of the Indian Government think their duty is finished just by picking up their heavy paychecks? Why are they not successful at stopping any conspiracy or murder effort of the terrorists? The truth is that the whole government machinery is afraid of the terrorists and does not do anything out of fear, except to show off. Against this background, who should be blamed for the sins of the murder of innocent people and the destruction of national property? Our Indian policy has been that if the people of a king are unhappy, then that king deserves hell. Is there no one in the government to represent it? What will happen to a kingdom where the people are cursed and persecuted? We say all this with great sorrow. However, we are forced to say it all in order to force the government to open its eyes and ears.

The Kashmir issue has been dragged around for the last 40 years, and none of our administrations have been successful in resolving it. Mentions of bilateral talks have been heard repeatedly. This is a good idea theoretically, but what does its failure tell us? If Kashmir is an integral part of India, then why is it kept separate by Article 370? When Maharajah Hari Singh of Kashmir signed an agreement to join the Indian union in 1947, then why is a situation of uncertainty being created about it now? The Muslims form the majority, and Hindus are a minority there. Does it mean that the protector of the minority, the Indian Government, is not doing its job there? Is the policy of protecting the interests of the minority implemented on Muslims only, or is it for Hindus also? If this is not explained in clear terms now, then when will it be done? What are the Indian and state governments doing at a time when the terrorists have created anarchy just like that of Ravana's time with their atrocities and violence? Talks about simple statements and policies just will not do now. The government must show its "manhood" and vigor. It must stop humoring Pakistan, and show it that India is a powerful nation, able to counter the undeclared war by Pakistan. Pakistan has realized the weakness of the new government and has started an undeclared war against it through terrorism. What is the Indian Government's answer to it? Pakistan's receptive and shallow talks about bilateral talks is intended just to keep India in the dark and devour Kashmir, an integral part of India. The Indian Government should become alert in time. Only then can our nation be protected.

Solution to Kashmir Impasse Seen Urgent

Equitable Solution for All

92AS0305A Varnasi AJ in Hindi 13 Nov 91 p 6

[Article by Ajab Narayan Pandey: "Kashmir's Problem and Solution"]

[Text] Only suitable national philosophy can give correct direction to the nation and make it strong. A split society or efforts to pacify a group leads to national uncertainty. Such thinking neither helps society nor followers of such a philosophy. In the end, it results in social unrest, bloodshed, and division of the nation. Kashmir has always been viewed within the framework of politics of communal issues and internal pressure. The politics of votes and power can be played with this uncooked philosophy, however, this will not save the nation from breaking up.

The politics of votes has exacerbated the problems instead of alleviating them. In this context, we cannot arrive at a meaningful decision unless we consider the Kashmir issue rationally. Kashmir is an unique gift from nature to India. However, its present tragic situation is not natural. In such a situation, the problem can be solved only when its root causes are analyzed.

In the U.S.-Iraqi war, Kuwait did not oppose the United States in spite of the slogan of Islam raised by Iraq. Kuwait's interests were for liberation even though it is an Islamic nation. Because of principled thinking, even Islamic countries helped the United States in the war. There were differences over the question of the war even in the United States. However, no U.S. citizen was willing to accept his nation's defeat or slight. Our nation, because of the lack of a strong and clear national policy, could not join either the U.S.-Kuwaiti group or Iraq. Our policy was also unclear during the recent crisis in the Soviet Union.

Pakistan attacked at Kashni on 24 October 1947. At the request of the Maharajah Hari Singh of Kashmir, (then home minister) Sardar Vallabh Bhai Patel defended Kashmir by sending Indian troops. The state joined India on 26 October 1947. However, one-third of the state is still separate and is known as Azad Kashmir. This result was because of the first historical mistake in our policies.

The second mistake was passing Article 370 for this state. Thus, it was cut off from the mainstream of the nation from the very beginning. There is no other example of such an article in the constitution of any other democratic nation in the world. The article of the constitution, instead of helping the state to join the nation, separates it from constitutional, philosophical, and practical points of views. The Indian Government has spent billions of rupees on this state. It supplies the most expensive things such as oil, ghee, and sugar at comparatively reduced rates to Kashmir. With few exceptions, the people of this state are not taxed.

Because of the political survival "policy of Indian leaders, the people of Kashmir gradually began to consider India just a free grazing ground." The most unfortunate aspect of Article 370 was that 250 to 300 families became the unofficial owners of Kashmir. Unlimited spendings on Kashmir did not change the lot of the people and they never developed a feeling for the nation. The people were cheated with the false promises of elections. Finally, the people became bitter with the nation. It is said that a person getting only 16 votes was elected to the Kashmir assembly. Among the three parts of Kashmir—the Valley, Jammu, and Laddakh—Jammu and Laddakh have always been neglected. For political reasons, there are more legislative seats in the Valley than in Jammu. Fundamental groups such as Jamaat-i Islami have always prospered in this state. Educational institutions had full freedom to allow antinational propaganda. Anti-India propaganda was always ignored because of the economic aid given by the Arab nations. Gradually, the terrorists became very bold and now, as the result of all this, 280,000 Kashmiri Hindus are forced to lead nomadic lives moving from pillar to post. Perhaps there are a nominal number of Hindus and nationalist Muslims in the Kashmir Valley. The undeclared war by Pakistan continues. Hundreds of terrorists have been killed and propaganda is supported by Islamic countries. The terrorists successfully carry out total strikes in

Kashmir. Kashmir does not even appear to be a part of India now. It is being viewed as totally pro-Pakistan. Instead of celebrating India's independence day, they celebrate Pakistan's independence day and raise Pakistan's flag.

Article 370 must be revoked and all Indian citizens should have equal rights. All terrorist training camps in Pakistan must be destroyed. Aid from other countries in the name of religion also must be stopped. We must settle discharged soldiers and other Indian citizens without any discrimination in Kashmir. Propaganda from other nations should not only be legally but practically banned.

Pakistan Supporting Separatists

92AS0305B New Delhi JANSATTA in Hindi 15 Nov 91
p 6

[Article by Manik Bhattacharya: "Pay Attention to Kashmir and Also to Kashgar"; quotation marks as published]

[Text] Pakistan's plans are a cause of concern for India, however, it is not realistic to believe that Pakistan will succeed in its goals. It will have to travel a long way to succeed and the path is full of obstructions. Therefore, we should not believe that Pakistan will be able to siege India or that the vacuum created by the Soviet Union will be filled by a coalition of Islamic nations. Let us talk about Afghanistan. It is true that the Najibullah government was the loser because of the U.S.-USSR agreement. This agreement, about not providing weapons to Afghanistan, does not cover Pakistan, Iran, and China. It was hoped that other countries will not provide any military aid to either side. It is not necessary that Pakistan will follow this good will. However, Pakistan cannot supply military and economic aid to the Mujahiddin at a level to defeat the Afghan armed forces. Therefore, the tribal dream of taking over the government will be difficult to realize. Moreover, the tribes are divided into two religious factions. The tribes living near the Iranian borders are Shi'a and will not accept the supremacy of Pakistan-supported leaders such as Hikmatyar Khan. The Shi'a sect is restricted even in Pakistan. One important aspect of this is that Iran will not let a Pakistan-Saudi Arabia bloc in its neighboring country, Pakistan. Many pro-Pakistan tribal leaders get their support from Saudi Arabia. As long as there is Irani-Saudi discord, Iran will try to keep its borders clean from Saudi and Pakistani influence. This means that even when the Najibullah government falls, Afghanistan will not be safe from tribal warfare.

Iran shares its borders with some central Asian republics. If the central Asian republics secede when the Soviet Union breaks up, they will come under Iran's influence. Not only because of the proximity to the borders, but also because the people living on both sides of the borders share Iranian heritage. That is why Iran has gotten approval from Soviet authorities to remove

restrictions for travel across the border. If Iran wants to increase its influence in central Asia or to sow the separatist feelings among the people of Iranian origin there, it must keep Pakistan away from this region. It will also be important that a pro-Pakistan government is not established in Afghanistan. The 15 major tribes in Afghanistan just will not agree over a form of government. If an agreement is forced, it will not stay. The only way to keep Afghanistan united is to establish a nontribal democratic government. However, neither Pakistan nor Saudi Arabia nor Iran are interested in that kind of government.

An Islamic bloc from Islamabad to central Asia would be dangerous for China. At this time, China is cooperating with Pakistan because of rivalry with India. However, once China's own interests are threatened it will retaliate. The racial-communal angles in some areas of central Asia are the kind that will affect similar changes in China as they did in the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union and China have disagree over Chinese Mongolia for a long time. Islamization of any central Asian republic will result in separatist tendencies to prosper in Chinese provinces with Muslim majorities. In other words, the merger of any central Asian republic into a major Islamic bloc will not be in China's interest. China has to be alert in this context because India's Kashmir state is included in Pakistan's conspiracy. This could lead to the weakening of China's hold on Tibet.

We cannot say that the winds in the Soviet Union will blow according to Pakistan's wishes. For example, the central Asian republics did not decide to secede from the Union even though they are racially and culturally different. The reason is clear. The economic situation in these republics is such that they cannot prosper independently. In addition, they have the fear that once they lose Soviet protection, some neighboring country might swallow them and end their independence. All Soviet Islamic states, except for Tadzhikistan, have this danger.

Even when the European Soviet republics decide to get rid of the Asian republics in the last phase of the Soviet disintegration, the dispersion in central Asia will only take momentum. In other words, there will be so many disputes among the central Asian republics after failure of a central union that the present structure of these republics will be endangered. There will be no room for joining an Islamic coalition or bloc in such a situation. Even Saddam Husayn's iron rule could not force the Kurds and Arabs to cooperate in Iraq.

How can India counter this problem? The first step would be to strengthen India-Afghanistan friendship. Afghanistan and India were brought closer by the Soviet Union. Now the Soviet Union has left Afghanistan. "Europeanization" is Soviet Union's first priority now. This desire for "Europeanization" is prevalent mostly in Christian majority republics. There is a strong possibility that the Soviet Union and the United States will replace the Najibullah government with a moderate democratic

government. It is important that India actively participate in establishing peace and a new government in Afghanistan. The present Afghanistani Government is requesting this cooperation. The government that is established in Afghanistan should not have any Pakistani or fundamentalist influence. This problem cannot be solved with a war because Najibullah lacks resources for fighting a lengthy war. In such a situation, if Afghanistan's Government is forced to submit to the Mujahiddin, the fundamentalists will definitely control that nation. Therefore, it is important for us to cooperate in the international efforts to keep Afghanistan neutral between India and Pakistan. Iran can also help in this effort to protect its own interests. The pro-Iranian tribes have, at best, enough potential to free some Afghan territory near Iran's border; they do not have the resources to subdue the whole Afghanistan.

The second step for an Indian foreign policy would be to establish close and independent relations with central Asian republics. These republics still have a special attraction for India. The consumer goods that these republics need can be easily supplied by India. However, all trade pacts with these republics must be made through the Soviet Union. There is a possibility that soon these republics will have the right to make trade pacts with other countries. Such a possibility has been hinted at in Gorbachev's proposed plan. It is evident that India and the Soviet Union will not have the same kind of relationship as they had in the past. The Soviet Union does not only want cash for its goods, it is also following up on older pacts unwillingly. The main reason for this is that the goods that we imported from the Soviet Union are not being produced in enough quantities there now. For example, the Soviet defence industry has regressed considerably because of its new policy, Western pressure, and disintegration of its republics. The Soviet Union will have to reduce its export of weapons considerably during the next few years. It is obvious that we have to either look for other sources or be self-sufficient in this area. Because of the "Europeanization" of other Soviet republics, most consumer goods will be imported from either Western nations or Japan. Therefore, it is not practical to assume that we will be able to find a major market for consumer goods in these republics.

However, the situation in the Asian republics is different and will remain different. Because of the lack of industrialization and lower living standards, this region still can be a customer of Indian goods. We understand the needs of these republics better than the European businessmen because of the Asian character. It is important that we increase our political involvement in these republics. In other words, it is important to register India's economic and political presence in these Asian republics. If we succeed in this effort, we will not only be able to help establish political stability there, but also foil the conspiracies of Pakistan and other neighboring nations.

In addition to international diplomacy and trade, we have to remember that we have to fight the first battle to thwart Pakistan's efforts to establish the so-called Islamic nations coalition right here in our own country. Kashmir is a major part of Pakistan's conspiracy because the plan is to form a coalition from Kashmir to Kashgar. It is important to make the Pakistani involvement in Kashmir ineffective as soon as possible. Once Pakistani intervention in our northern state is halted, the failure of Pakistani plans would be definite both at psychological and political levels.

Papers Give Details of NIC Meeting

Report on Rao Speech

92AS0358A Calcutta THE TELEGRAPH in English
3 Nov 91 p 4

[Text] New Delhi, 2 November—The Ram Janmabhoomi Babri Masjid controversy was embarrassing India at international fora, the prime minister, Mr. P.V. Narasimha Rao, said here today. He hinted that the marring of India's image abroad due to the Ayodhya dispute was likely the main reason deterring foreign investment in the country.

The prime minister was addressing the first meeting of the reconstituted National Integration Council (NIC) here today which discussed the communal situation in the country against the backdrop of the Ram Janmabhoomi-Babri Masjid issue.

Mr. Rao said that during his visits to foreign countries, diplomats and journalist's who did not have anything to say against the Indian government's policies, "hurled" questions on what was happening at Ayodhya. "Now, this has not only remained within the country one of the most difficult problems," Mr. Rao said, "it has also travelled abroad and is figuring in the kind of attitude that other countries, the media of other countries, are adopting towards India...as a point of criticism, just to say that whatever the policies, they may be good, but at the same time there is something inherently wrong with India and the Indian society, they can't remain peaceful, they can't remain united."

Mr. Rao pointed out that this was the kind of "innuendo" he drew from the questions put to him by the foreign diplomats and journalists. He said the questions were couched in "very diplomatic, polished language," but nonetheless "critical" if one removed all the "embellishments."

The prime minister said, "This is very important from the point of view of what we really wanted to do with our new policies." Commenting that he wanted to integrate that domestic economy with the world economy, he said, "We want India to become a model of investment, for progress, for peace, for secularism, for tolerance and this is the mission we have to undertake for the country."

What was coming in the way of the country's image being built up abroad had to be removed at the earliest he said.

In his 20-minute speech, Mr. Rao who is also the NIC chairman, said the meeting was being held at a time when the country was facing one of the "gravest challenges since Independence." He said though there were other important issues like terrorism and secessionist in the country, the communal harmony had been chosen as the agenda as "the disquieting scenario" was threatening to tear apart the national fabric.

Since the dawn of history, Indian society had been characterised by a spirit of tolerance "which is perhaps unique in the world," he said, and hence the present developments were particularly distressing. "In the last few years, the communal virus has been spreading and communal riots have taken a heavy toll of human life. They have brought untold misery to the people," he said. "It seems that the wisdom tolerance and spirit of accommodation of our ancient society are progressively being forgotten while the institutions that bind together a modern nation, such as a secular outlook, respect for rule of law and the institutional framework for settlement of disputes are being ignored."

The prime minister said secularism was a distinguishing feature of an enlightened nation, "We have given ourselves a secular Constitution. Freedom of religion, freedom to manage religious affairs and prohibition of discrimination on grounds of religion have been guaranteed as fundamental rights in the constitution," he said, adding "the executive must keep the larger interest in view even it means sacrificing the short-term gain."

Mr. Rao said that the country was fortunate in having a judiciary acknowledged by all to be free and independent and hoped that its decision on the Ayodhya issue would be honoured by all concerned, "both in letter and spirit."

The prime minister said, "Communalism is an extremely dangerous virus. It generates hatred, and it pits man against man, brother against brother. It is unfortunate that much of our nation's energy and resources have to be diverted to the containing of communal violence. the country can ill afford this."

Mr. Rao expressed concern over the recent developments in Ayodhya and said the government was committed to finding a negotiated solution to the dispute in a manner which would respect the sentiments of both the communities involved. "In the event of such a solution not being reached, the government favours a solution by a court verdict," he added.

He said, "Resolution of this conflict should not be seen as a victory of one group over another, but that of the nation as whole." Admitting that it might not be possible for the council to find an immediate solution to the vexed issues, he said the meeting would have served its purpose if it could help to "cool down passions."

Text of Resolution

92AS0358B New Delhi PATRIOT in English 3 Nov 91
p 6

[Text] Following is the resolution adopted by the National integration Council [NIC] on Saturday:

The National Integration Council views with deep concern the deterioration in the communal situation in the country during the last two years, which have witnessed increasing communal tension and serious incidents of violence leading to heavy loss of life and property. Along with the continuing activities of terrorists and militants in certain parts of the country, communal animosity can seriously undermine the national unity. The Council reaffirms the resolve of the people to resolutely meet any challenge to the country's unity and integrity and its secular democratic polity.

The Council noted that one of the factors which has added immensely to the build-up of communal tension is the Ram Janma Bhoomi-Babri Masjid dispute. The Council expressed its concern at the recent happenings in Ayodhya and hoped that such situations will not recur.

The Ram Janma Bhoomi-Babri Masjid dispute has continued to evade a satisfactory solution. The council appeals to all concerned parties and organisations to work towards an amicable, negotiated solution of the dispute in a spirit of cooperation and mutual understanding.

The Council noted the following assurances given by the Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh: i) All efforts will be made to find an amicable resolution of the issue; ii) Pending a final solution, the government of Uttar Pradesh will hold itself fully responsible for the protection of the Ram Janma Bhoomi-Babri Masjid structure; iii) Orders of the Court in regard to the land acquisition proceedings will be fully implemented and iv) Judgments of the Allahabad High Court in the cases pending before it will not be violated accepted struggle made of link. [sentence as published]

The Council welcomed the invitation given to it by the Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh to visit Ayodhya on any suitable date.

The NIC calls upon all concerned, including the political parties, religious leaders, the media and other organisations, to act with restraint and in a manner that will promote harmony and goodwill between all communities. Everyone must make efforts to desist from words or deeds that are likely to inflame communal passions or give encouragement to disruptive forces. Indian society is traditionally marked by a spirit of tolerance and respect for each other's faith. This spirit should continue to guide our thoughts and actions.

The Council appeals to all people to maintain peace and tranquility and create an atmosphere conducive to the satisfactory settlement of the Ram Janma Bhoomi-Babri Masjid dispute.

Tohra Elected To Head 'Sikh Parliament'

92AS0354A Calcutta THE TELEGRAPH in English
14 Nov 91 p 5

[Article by Monimoy Dasgupta: "Tohra Regains Control Over SGPC"]

[Text] Amritsar, 13 November—The general house of the Shiromani Gurudwara Prabandhak Committee (SGPC) elected the most wily of the Akali politicians, Mr. Gurcharan Singh Tohra, by an overwhelming majority to take over the reins of the "Sikh Parliament" at the Teja Singh Samundri hall inside the Golden Temple complex here this afternoon.

The foxy old guard Akali was today bestowed with the task to head the highest representative body of the Sikhs for the 18th time after a gap of one year.

Last November, in a bid towards forging Akali unity, Mr. Tohra had bowed to a general demand for a consensus candidate as the SGPC president before opting out in favour of his protege, Mr. Baldev Singh Sibia.

There were 97 members present in the hall for voting, which has an effective strength of 113. Mr. Tohra polled 91 votes against his opponent, Mr. Harcharan Singh Dilli, who secured six votes. The members of the house indicated their choice through secret ballots. The outgoing SGPC president, Mr. Baldev Singh Sibia, presided over the afternoon's proceedings.

Despite hectic consultations which continued till the eleventh-hour, failed to arrive at a consensus candidate for the post of the SGPC president. This finally led to a two-cornered contest between Mr. Tohra and Mr. Dilli.

The former president of the Shiromani Akali Dal (undivided), Mr. Jagdev Singh Talwandi proposed the name of Mr. Tohra for the post of the SGPC chief, which was seconded by the acting president of the Akali Dal Longowal, Mr. Kabul Singh.

Seeking support from the general house for Mr. Tohra, Mr. Talwandi said he (Talwandi) was approached by Mr. Prakash Singh Badal, president of the Akali Dal (Badal), to which maximum number of members of the general house voted allegiance, to take up the presidency of SGPC. "But I refuse to shoulder the responsibility as I feel Mr. Tohra is the best man for the post, as he has already served the SGPC for 17 years," he said.

After Mr. Kabul Singh seconded the name of Mr. Tohra, the general secretary of the Akali Dal (Mann), Mr. Suckha Singh Chhotapur, proposed the name of Mr. Dilli, a former acting jathedar of the Akal Takht. Mr. Dilli's name was seconded by a member of the general house, Mr. Guralp Singh.

Subsequently, several Tohra loyalists made appeals to Mr. Dilli to withdraw his candidature and allow unanimous election of Mr. Tohra. But Mr. Dilli refused to step down as a result of which, the presiding officer, Mr. Baldev Singh Sibia, asked the members of the general house to indicate their choice through secret ballot.

After the ballots were cast, supporters of the Akali Dal (Badal), and the members of the Sibia camp, including Mr. Sibia, left the venue even before the proceedings of the general house were over.

The Tohra camp was jubilant. The Tohra loyalists shouted slogans like "Tohra zindabad"; coupled with the war cry of "Wahe guruji ka Khalsa, wahe guruji ka fate."

While the 11-member executive committee chosen by the general house was packed with Tohra aides, the most well-known Tohra loyalist, Mr. Major Singh Uboke, was elected as the senior vice-president. The post of the junior vice-president and the general secretary also went to two Tohra supporters, Mr. Arjun Singh Josh and Mr. Gurdial Singh respectively.

Mr. Tohra had decided to stay away from the post of SGPC presidency ever since he escaped a bid on his life in early 1990 near Ludhiana. At the "Sikh unity conclave" held in Anandpur Sahib in September, Mr. Tohra had publicly announced that he would not accept any office in future.

Talking to newsmen after his election, a visibly elated Mr. Tohra said, "Militants are supreme and will continue to lead the Sikh's struggle as its torchbearers. The government in Delhi should not ignore them if it is for a peaceful settlement to the Punjab problem."

The SGPC general house passed a number of resolutions including a call for the release of the detained Akal Takht jathedar, Mr. Ranjit Singh, and decrying the attempt by the government to muzzle the press, and of state repression.

The resolutions were passed after the election of Mr. Tohra, which has once again proved the dominance of the Badal faction of the Akali Dal in the "Sikh Parliament."

Militants set ablaze two banks: Militants set ablaze two banks in Majitha police district as 16 persons, 10 of them militants, were killed since last night.

The militants set on fire a branch of the Punjab National Bank in Chetnapur village and a Gramin Vikas Bank in Jhander village in Majitha police district last night, the police said. Furniture and records of the banks were gutted.

Panthic Committee Statement Condemns Killings
92AS0348A New Delhi PATRIOT in English 8 Nov 91
p 1

[Text] In a significant development, the Panthic Committee (Zaffarwal) on Thursday stated that armed struggle bereft of popular support cannot achieve the goal of the Sikh community, reports UNI.

Without specifying the "goal" the Panthic Committee, in a statement in Gurmukhi signed by its press secretary Ajit Singh, also condemned the spate of killings of innocent people just before the last general elections and the scheduled Punjab assembly polls.

The Panthic Committee said the spurt in militant killings of innocents and candidates just before the elections gave a handle to the government to postpone the polls.

The banned outfit strongly disapproved the kidnapping of the Romanian diplomat Liviu Radu saying that the incident had cast a slur on the "Sikh liberation movement" internationally and had presented Sikh extremists in a poor light.

The abduction would also have an adverse impact on the financial and logistic support to the extremists abroad and could lose them sympathy for their cause.

Without naming any militant group, the Panthic Committee said certain people acted wrongly by opposing the anti-repression action committee floated by Shiromani Gurdwara Prabandhak Committee (SGPC) President Baldev Singh Sibia.

Strongly condemning the killing of Punjab health services director Dr. Bachihtar Singh and several other doctors, the committee described it as "an act of madness."

Condemning the elimination of militant leaders like Baldev Singh Hothian, Harmandir Singh Sandhu and member of Parliament-elect Jagdev Singh Khudian, the committee said such incidents severely isolated the movement from the people.

The committee said the so-called militant organisations like Damdami Taksal posed a lot of obstructions in resumption of Kar Sewa of the Akal Takht in Golden temple complex of Amritsar.

Such actions, the committee said, were to confuse the Sikhs and to satisfy the ego of a few individuals masquerading as champions of the Sikh cause.

Agreements Among Terrorists Viewed
92WR0051X Bombay NAVBHARAT TIMES in Hindi
4 Oct 91 p 5

[News Items: "Arms Supply, Training Agreements Between Sikh Terrorists and ULFA"]

[Text] Chandigarh (3 October) Times—Reliable sources have indicated that the Punjabi terrorists have formed a

pact with the ULFA (United Liberation Front of Assam) terrorists. A prominent terrorist leader revealed this in an interview. In addition to supporting each other's secessionist demands, they will also share weapons and training facilities.

These leaders also said that they were trying to establish a high-level committee composed of the Jammu-Kashmir Liberation Front, ULFA, various terrorist organizations in northeastern states, the Peoples' War Group of Andhra Pradesh, and Jharkhand Mukti Morcha, to centrally organize all separatist activities.

This leader refused to identify his group. He said that all the Sikh terrorist groups are also trying to coordinate their activities.

This terrorist leader met with the major ULFA leaders during his trip to Assam in August. He refused to reveal the names of these leaders; however, he said that he was very impressed with ULFA's organizational structure and strict rules. He added that such policies and directives were being prepared for the terrorists in Punjab.

He said that after the military action "Operation Rhino" in Assam, there have been many problems in establishing contacts with ULFA. According to him, "Operation Rhino" was worse than "Operation Blue Star."

He said: "Last year, he met with Sikh leaders during his three-month stay in Pakistan. He said that there was a proposal to send Punjabi terrorists to Assam for training; however, it was canceled because of "Operation Rhino."

He added that there were many possibilities of cooperation between the terrorists of the two states. While ULFA will benefit from brave and courageous Sikh terrorists, Sikhs will benefit from ULFA's organizational skills.

The Sikh leader also said that China was also interested in the terrorists in Punjab. The Punjabi terrorists are getting weapons through ULFA from Bangladesh. The terrorist leaders living in Canada and the United States of America had met there before the student revolution started in China. These efforts cooled down during the student demonstrations. However, this is catching momentum now that the effects of the student revolution are fading. China has also hinted that it will provide assistance to them.

Challenges to National Unity Examined
92AS0064A New Delhi JANSATTA in Hindi 23 Sep 91
p 6

[Article by Banwari: "The Basis of Our National Unity"]

[Text] Those who are emotionally upset about the developments in the Soviet Union are trying to tell us that a similar thing could happen in India, in order to involve us in their plight. Several states in India are campaigning

to separate themselves from the union, and these separatists could get support from the Soviet republics that have announced their decisions to secede. However, we have no proof to support their fears. Still, some intellectuals are telling India to have a similar structure as that being adopted by the Soviet Union.

There is no basis for comparing India with the Soviet Union. If India were to break up, it would not need an example from the Soviet Union. Both countries are very different from social and historical perspectives. The Soviet Union was created by the great military campaign led by Peter the Great and Stalin. There is no cultural similarity between the Soviet Union and India. This unity has kept India together through all kind of political upheavals. Unity is our greatest asset.

Those who consider the British political structure as the basis of Indian unity are the only ones who can be worried by the developments in the Soviet Union. We remember that when the Dravida movement was at its peak in Tamil Nadu, such fears were expressed about our country's unity. The Dravida movement may have been successful in creating some regional demand; however, it did not succeed in shaking India's solidarity. Now that we are hearing separatist slogans in Punjab, we also note a strong opposition to these in such areas as Tamil Nadu. We should not be surprised if we see a similar change in Punjab in the future.

In spite of this cultural homogeneity, we notice pressure on our political structure. There is a lack of unity in various Indian regions because of this political pressure. The main reason for this pressure is that our present political structure is not congruent with our social tendencies. We have more experience in establishing political institutions, and our people have been comparatively more involved in these. We observe daily that an average Indian is more actively involved in politics than typical citizens in other societies. When we put such politically active people in any kind of political structure that does not agree with them, then we have to expect problems.

The new politicians are having problems understanding this tension. When regional political parties began to emerge, it was said that our political structure was too centralized, and the people were worried. Therefore, they wanted to take power away from the Center and give it to the states. However, when some of these regional groups began to give birth to separatist powers, the opinion was to have a strong center. After that, it all became a puzzle. It has become difficult to get a consensus on what kind of changes should be made in our political structure.

The greatest reason for this puzzle is that we look at the same ideological bases when we examine alternatives to the present structure. The basic problem with this structure is not that it has made the Center strong. If we

weaken the Center and strengthen the states, then various regions within the states will also have new complaints. As long as we think in one or another form of central government, the problem will remain. Whatever becomes the central power will have complaints against it from the subgroups.

The second problem in changing our political structure is that they will look at the whole problem from revenue distribution. Therefore, we have always demanded that the states be allowed a greater share of tax revenues, and that they should not be left at the Center's mercy. We should have room in the Constitution to allow all states to get their share according to a predetermined proportion. All political parties agree with the demand made by the states. The central government has even established a commission to study this issue. This commission has submitted a report; however, the problem has yet to be solved.

It is often believed that any political party that is installed at the center is unwilling to share power. Therefore, while it talks about decentralization, it never really takes any steps to implement it. There is some truth in this accusation. In other countries, where there is a Western structure like ours, states and units below them have more autonomy than we do. If the government at the Center wishes, some progress can be made in decentralization.

However, the tension that exists in our political structure now will not be removed by such decentralization. The reason for this is that centralization and decentralization share a common base. This base is that all kinds of rights should be in one or several centers. In centralized organizations, there is only one center. In a decentralized structure, there are more than one. However, one thing remains consistent—that government and power should be limited to a small sphere.

A state and its administrators are always considered the top officials of a state in India. This dichotomy of power and government is believed to stay in the demigod on one side and religion on the other side, and religion gives power to the people. From this perspective, all social institutions get their rights according to their duties. No one has autocratic power. Instead, everyone's rights are defined by their responsibilities.

Because of this omnipresence of government, our society has always been politically active. This image of government is set in our society's memory and in its habits. Therefore, our people have always to struggle with the present structure, and they express it through their dissatisfaction and in various campaigns. For many people, this active political involvement appears to be a kind of anarchy.

Accusing our society of anarchy is only possible if one is totally ignorant of India's history. India did not only have large empires, comparable only to the world's greatest kingdoms, but every person in our country has the opportunity to be involved in one or the other

political unit. An average Indian is so aware of his duties that an accusation of anarchy made against him can easily be proved wrong.

The people that levy this accusation know but one form of government, where all of the power is concentrated in a few people in the state. They are strong believers in the traditional belief that some people are intellectually and morally superior. They give these privileges to those who run the government, so that they are able to think about the welfare of the whole society and impose their decisions, which help everyone, on all the people. This principle has been used most crudely in communist countries, and the result of this system is in front of us.

If we want to reduce the pressures on India's governmental structure, then we have to think on a higher level than Center versus states. Those who have started the Center versus states issue should know their mistake that they could not even prepare people from one region for a revolution, because it wanted to start the movement based on the lack of a fair share in the economy. The whole argument over the Center versus the states is limited to some intellectuals and politicians. Sometimes it helps the separatists who, because of immature beliefs, begin to lose faith in India's oneness.

India's present government structure is hindering the productivity of our people. This structure does one thing, and it supports a limited industrial machinery, and its supremacy. This industrial machinery is ineffective and expensive. The "qualities" of these systems are hidden, because it produces an elite group that ignores the needs of the whole society and joins its fate with this inept industrial mechanism. This elite group is trying to define the parameters for thinking and discussion.

If we want to release our efforts from these restrictions, then we have to mold our society in such a way that the various kinds of social systems flourish according to the various goals of life. This should not allow a concentration of power in one section. Privileges must remain decentralized in this system. Such a structure is standardized by religion, according to time and place. Such a structure can be called a democracy, and not the one in which the people have rights in name only, while the whole power is concentrated in a few people.

Karnataka Cauvery Ordinance Ruled Invalid
92AS0368A Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA
in English 23 Nov 91 pp 1, 13

[Article: "Cauvery Ordinance Invalid"]

[Text] The Times of India News Service, New Delhi, Nov. 22. The supreme court today declared as "unconstitutional" the ordinance promulgated by the Karnataka government to deny the Cauvery river waters to Tamil Nadu and observed that the government's legislation was an "invitation to lawlessness and anarchy."

A five-judge constitution bench presided over by the chief justice, Mr. Ranganath Misra, in a 109-page verdict on the presidential reference seeking opinion on three issues relating to the Cauvery waters dispute, noted that the ordinance promulgated on July 25 was "against the basic tenets of the rule of law" by which the state government sought to "take law in its own hands and to be above the law."

UNI adds:

The interim order was a report/decision under section 5(2) of the Inter-State Water Disputes Act and required to be published by the Central government to make it effective, the court said.

The ordinance which sought to nullify the effect of the interim order of the tribunal directing Karnataka to release 205 TMC [thousand million cubic—feet] of water to Tamil Nadu was beyond the legislative competence of the state, the court said.

The court's opinion on the presidential reference was read out by Mr. Justice P. B. Sawant. The other judges on the constitution bench were Mr. Justice K. N. Singh, Mr. Justice A. M. Ahmadi and Mr. Justice [name illegible] Singh.

The three issues referred to the court's opinion by the president were:

- whether the Karnataka Cauvery basin irrigation (protection) ordinance, 1991, which was later made into an act was in accordance with the provisions of the constitution;
- whether an interim order of the tribunal was a report/decision within the meaning of section 5(2) of the Inter-State Water Disputes Act and whether it required to be published by the Central government to make it effective;
- whether a water dispute tribunal was competent to pass an interim order giving relief to the party.

The effect of the court's opinion today is that the Karnataka government has lost its legal battle on the issue for the second time.

The Cauvery waters tribunal, after a ruling of the supreme court that interim order was a part of the terms of reference, had on June 25, 1991 directed Karnataka to release 205 [TMC] to Tamil Nadu on a week-to-week basis from June to May till the final adjudication in the dispute.

After the tribunal announced its interim award, Karnataka pleaded that it was not competent to grant interim relief and on July 25 issued the controversial ordinance.

Tamil Nadu on the other hand insisted on the Central government publishing the award to make it effective. In view of the conflicting stand taken by the main parties in the dispute, the President on July 27 sought the opinion of the court under article 143 of the constitution.

The presidential reference to the court triggered a crisis for the Congress government also at that time, when one of the Union ministers from Tamil Nadu, Mr. Vazhappadi K. Ramamurthy quit the ministry in protest and all the other MPs [members of Parliament] from the state threatened to resign from Parliament if justice was not done to the state on the issue.

The Cauvery dispute has soured the relations between Tamil Nadu and Karnataka for over 20 years. In 1972, the two states agreed to resolve the dispute through negotiations and over the next 18 years, successive chief ministers held over 20 rounds of talks but without success.

On May 4, 1990, the supreme court directed the government to appoint a tribunal, which the then National Front government did on June 2.

At the first hearing on July 28, the Tamil Nadu government sought an interim direction but the tribunal decided it could not issue any interim relief because it was beyond its terms of reference.

The Tamil Nadu government went in an appeal and the supreme court held that the tribunal was empowered to pass an interim order rejecting the Karnataka government's objections.

When the apex court started hearing the presidential reference, the Karnataka advocate-general, Mr. Shivappa, and the senior counsel, Mr. F. S. Nariman, took the stand that the state was fully competent to issue the ordinance for preservation, protection and maintenance of irrigation from the Cauvery basin and tributaries. It was not violative of any provision of the constitution, they asserted.

The Tamil Nadu advocate-general, Mr. K. Subramanian, and the senior counsel, Mr. K. Parasaran, on the other hand contended that the ordinance was unconstitutional.

While the government of Kerala supported the stand of Karnataka, the Union territory of Pondicherry sided with Tamil Nadu.

During the hearing, the attorney-general, Mr. G. Ramaswamy, assured the court that the government would implement the "opinion" that will be rendered by the court on presidential reference.

After hearing all parties the court reserved its judgement in the last week of September.

Detailing reasons for its opinion that the Karnataka ordinance was ultra vires of the constitution, the court said any executive order for a legislative enactment of a state which interfered with the adjudicatory process and adjudication by a tribunal is an interference with the judicial power of the state.

"In view of the fact that the ordinance in question seeks directly to nullify the order of the tribunal passed on

June 25, 1991, it impinges upon the judicial power of the state and is, therefore, ultra vires of the constitution," the court observed.

The court also noted that the effect of the ordinance was to affect the flow of the waters of Cauvery into the territories of Tamil Nadu and Pondicherry which are the lower riparian states.

The ordinance under the circumstances, the court pointed out, had an extra-territorial operation. Hence, it was, on that account, beyond the legislative competence of the state and was ultra vires of the provisions of article 245(1) of the constitution.

"The ordinance is also against the basic tenets of the rule of law in as much as the state of Karnataka by issuing it has sought to take law in its own hand, to be above law. Such an act is an invitation to lawlessness and anarchy, in as much as the ordinance is a manifestation of a desire on the part of the state to be a judge in its own cause and to defy the decision of the judicial authorities."

Meanwhile, the water resources minister, Mr. V. C. Shukla, told the Rajya Sabha that he would make a suo moto statement on the Cauvery river water dispute after collecting all the facts following the supreme court judgement delivered today.

Mr. Shukla gave the assurance during zero hour when members of Tamil Nadu said that the supreme court had held unconstitutional the Karnataka government order on utilisation of Cauvery waters.

Movement To Establish Jharkhand Examined

92AS0306B New Delhi JANSATTA in Hindi 18 Nov 91
p 6

[Article by Pravin Prabhakar: "Jharkhand Movement's Existence Is in Question"; quotation marks as published]

[Text] Ramdayal Munda, leader of Jharkhand movement, has expressed the hope that the Jharkhand issue will be discussed during the winter session of the Parliament and some decision will be made. This is not the first time that Mr. Munda has demonstrated such optimism. When talks about Jharkhand were being held in Patna and Delhi in June 1989, he had said that "solution" to the Jharkhand problem would be found by 15 August 1989. At that time, the Congress government under the leadership of Rajiv Gandhi was ruling the country. As expected, two years have passed since that 15 August and the "solution" has not been presented yet. Even the "Jharkhand Commission's report" prepared after those talks has not been made public yet. This report was submitted in November 1989. The situation is so bad this time that the question of a separate state in south Bihar was not a major issue during the recent byelections.

Almost all Jharkhand parties and leaders are in the same situation. The 50-year history of the Jharkhand movement is rampant with such examples. The greatest enemies of the Jharkhand movement are its leaders. When this movement was at its height, Jaipal Singh had joined the Congress cabinet along with his Jharkhandi Party. The Jharkhand Mukti Morcha, which had made the campaign more vigorous during the 1970's, cooperated with the Congress (I) in 1980 elections. Later, in the early 1980's the campaign almost died because of the dissension among the parties in the Jharkhand Coordination Committee. The youthful portion of the movement, All Jharkhand Students Union (AJSU)—which was organized on the Assam's student union model—also fell prey to internal strife and vested interests. Meanwhile, the strongest Jharkhand party, Jharkhand Mukti Morcha, has embraced the Janata Dal government in Bihar. The remaining Jharkhand movement parties are just carrying their flags.

Two months ago, the AJSU divided into two factions in its annual convention held at Ramrang Pur in Orissa. There might even be a third faction. Four years ago, the AJSU, which was established by the Jharkhand Mukti Morcha to involve the youth and the students, had separated itself from the party that had established it. It had decided to involve in nonpolitical activities only. However, the present situation within the AJSU is not letting it be nonpolitical or wholly political. Some people consider the Ramrang Pur convention of the AJSU to be the beginning of its end. The AJSU divided into two factions in this convention and a third faction decided to remain neutral.

The first president and general secretary of the first group are Prabhakar Tirki and Surya Singh, respectively. They claim that they were elected president and general secretary in that convention. The second group is headed by then-president Vinod Bhagat. He says that no elections were held in Ramrang Pur. The third group, which includes Dr. Devsharan Bhagat and other leaders, wants to call a combined convention to unite the three groups. However, because the vested interests of various leaders, this is not possible now. Political observers believe that the former organization became a prey of the Surya Singh Basera's ambitions. Basera was trying to run the AJSU for his own interests. The break up of AJSU is a great setback for the Jharkhand movement because the thrust of the youth is now dispersed. Ramdayal Munda used to be in the forefront directing the AJSU; he seems to have separated himself totally from the movement.

This is the result of the friendship between the Jharkhand Mukti Morcha and Lalu Prasad. Chota Nagpur and Santhal Pargana were combined to make the proposed Jharkhand Region Development Board. Even though this announcement gave official recognition to the word, "Jharkhand," other Jharkhand movement leaders consider it misleading and have the goal of establishing a separate state. Other parties are opposing it and only Jharkhand Mukti Morcha is supporting it.

The Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) and the Congress (I) Party both are trying to take advantage of the loose policies of the Jharkhand groups. The Jharkhand supporters consider 22 districts within Bihar, Orissa, Madhya Pradesh, and West Bengal as separate states. However, the BJP and the Congress (I) do not consider it logical and advocate making a separate state composed of Chota Nagpur and Santhal Pargana. Both have a strong hold in this region. If truth be told, the power balance between the Jharkhand Mukti Morcha, the Congress (I), and the BJP is divided equally. None is less than the other. The BJP wants to call this separate state, 'Vananchal.' The Congress (I) has not asked for another name. The BJP leaders charge that the Jharkhand region was announced just to give recognition to the word 'Jharkhand' and this announcement had no other purpose. The structure of the board clearly shows that it will be a puppet in the hands of the chief minister.

The involvement of the BJP and the Congress (I) for support for a separate state began three or four years ago. This is a new challenge for the Jharkhand campaign because of the problems of internal differences and it will be detrimental for its goal (to get 22 districts). If a decision is made about a state composed of Chota Nagpur and Santhal Pargana, it would be a definite defeat of Jharkhand supporters. Against this background, the Jharkhand Region Development Board should also be considered.

The truth is that while the Jharkhand movement is struggling for a proper leader, powerful blows are being made at its roots both from within and outside. If we believe confidential reports, even foreign powers have used the movement through the missionaries for their own interests. This also has hurt the movement. The energy of the movement was wasted on other causes knowingly or unknowingly. The Jharkhand movement leaders, because of their repeated recalcitrance, could not establish a strong base at the grassroots level. At the same time, the political and economic problems of this region as well as cultural background were not used to give the movement an edge.

At present there are dozens of topics like Sawaranrekha and Komalkaro Project, cutting of jungles, cultural endangerment, unemployment, and resettlement that can be used to give direction to the movement. The fact is that the vested interests of the leaders will not let them do it.

Assam: Army Deployment Supported, Delay Chided

92AS0057A Jalandhar PUNJAB KESARI in Hindi
18 Sep 91 p 2

[Commentary by Vijay: "Army Deployment in Assam-A Right Step Taken After Much Loss of Time"]

[Text] The army has been deployed in the upper districts of Assam to put an end to the activities of ULFA [United Liberation Front of Assam] terrorists. The army has

launched a campaign named "Operation Rhino" in Tinsukhia, Dhamaji, Dibrugarh, Sonitpur, Jorhat, Nagaon, Lakhimpur, and Shivasagar and has arrested over 100 terrorists and confiscated ammunition in large quantities.

It is important to mention here that the Hiteshwar Saikiya government announced a blanket pardon to all ULFA terrorists when he took office. His government also suggested resolving the issues with talks. However, instead of responding to this benevolence with benevolence, the ULFA terrorists considered it a weakness of the government and increased their activities. They began to kidnap government employees as well as other citizens and demand ransom for their release. This is considered one of the most serious crimes and some of the criminals were apprehended in Nagaland and Meghalaya by the police.

According to a government spokesman, while ULFA terrorists killed 140 persons and took 1 billion rupees in ransoms during the last two years, they kidnaped 49 persons during the last 75 days, murdering nine of them, and still have at least seven hostages. Among the officials killed by the ULFA terrorists were a Soviet engineer Mr. Sergei Gronchiko and an Oil and Natural Gas Commission [ONGC] engineer Mr. T.S. Raju.

There was a strong reaction among the ONGC employees at the murder of Mr. T.S. Raju on Sunday. They started a nationwide strike that continued for six days. The nation lost at 250 million rupees daily because of this strike. In addition, electric power plants run on natural gas and H.V.J. gas-powered agricultural machinery in Rajasthan and Uttar Pradesh were also affected.

Central Petroleum Minister Mr. V. Shankranand was also sent to Assam to get the hostages released. However, his efforts were fruitless. The ULFA terrorists gave the last ultimatum that if their four associates and all ULFA prisoners were not released by the Nagaland police by 1800 on 17 September, they were going to shoot the hostages. They also required written assurance from the government that their demands were accepted.

Finally, after a cabinet meeting held under the chairmanship of Prime Minister Narsimha Rao on 15 September, it was decided to deploy the army in Assam. Before making this decision, Mr. Narsimha Rao also talked with Chief Minister Hiteshwar Saikiya who told him that the state police was unable to control the situation. The first task for the army in Assam is to keep law and order and guard the oil refineries.

It is important to mention here that the activities of ULFA terrorists reached their peak when Assam was ruled by the Assam Gana Parishad government and Prafulla Mahant was the chief minister. However, the V.P. Singh government did not try to control him because Assam Gana Parishad's Dinesh Goswami was a member of his cabinet.

Finally, when all of Assam was screaming for help against the terrorists and all previous records for violence, murders, kidnaping, and arson were broken, the oil supply from Assam was stopped, and owners of tea plantations were ready to leave Assam, then the army was deployed after Mr. Mahant was dismissed.

"Operation Bajrang," started by the army, did not only succeed in destroying 75 ULFA terrorists' camps and confiscating arms and ammunition in huge quantities, but also in discovering some community graves that contained the bodies of females as well as males. Documents showing the establishment a new revolutionary group called, "India-Burma Revolutionary Front" composed of ULFA, National Socialist Council of Nagaland, United Liberation Front of Manipur, and some Burmese terrorist groups were also discovered. The goal of these organizations is to establish a new nation composed of the areas of northwestern India and northeastern Burma.

After all these facts were revealed, there was a real need for the army to stay there for some time to help normalize the conditions during the next three or four months. The army should have been left there even after having new elections to make sure that antinational elements such as ULFA terrorists do not raise their heads again. However, what happened was that Chandra Shekhar's caretaker government sacrificed the nation's interests for its own reasons and held elections in Assam even though elections in Assam were also postponed because of the peace situation just like in Punjab, which was also under presidential rule.

There was another blunder committed in addition to this. After announcing the decision to hold elections in Assam in June, the army was recalled from there in April. As soon as Hiteshwar Saikiya became chief minister, his first task was to declare a blanket pardon to ULFA terrorists and to release prisoners. The ULFA terrorists interpreted Mr. Saikiya's benevolence as the government's weakness and they did not only accelerate their activities involving murders and kidnaping, but also started to murder contracted employees. They also began to make new demands of the government.

How serious the situation in Assam had become can be understood by the fact that no government employee was willing to work in Assam. Those working in Assam wanted to leave immediately. There were news reports of some officials turning in their resignations. When T.S. Raju of the ONGC and Vipul Mahant, Assam branch manager of Amnesty International, were murdered recently, the legislative assembly expressed its concern and it was openly said that the blanket pardon plan was a gamble and no "brain" was used to consider it thoroughly.

In addition, a no-confidence motion was introduced against Mr. Saikiya's government and a deputation consisting of over 500 persons met with the president and

requested that Mr. Saikiya be removed from his position in order to protect the life and property of the people in the state.

We strongly recommended in these columns on 11 September that "deploying army in Assam was the only solution" after seeing the deteriorating conditions in Assam. We suggested that the government take the changing situation in Assam seriously and to send the army to the regions in the state where ULFA terrorists were totally in control.

The Janata Dal and Assam's former chief minister, Mr. Prafulla Mahant, have criticized deployment of the army in Assam. They said that ULFA was a political issue and should be resolved through talks. This is misleading because the army was sent to Assam only after the government had failed in its efforts to control the ULFA terrorists.

We believe that deployment of the army in Assam is a delayed but correct action. Work to free the hostages and to stop ULFA activities should start immediately and with full force. If any other region of Assam needs to be put under the army, it should be done. The army should not be moved from Assam until the safety of the people is not guaranteed.

Winning Over People of Northeast Seen as Priority

92AS0298A Jalandhar PUNJAB KESARI in Hindi
12 Nov 91 p 4

[Article by Nikhil Chakravarti: "It Is Very Important To Do Things To Win Over the People of the Northeastern Region"; quotation marks as published]

[Text] We note that the phrase "northeastern region" is occasionally mentioned in our political vocabulary. Our media and our political leaders remember this region only when law and order is questioned there, or when the militants commit serious violent activities. At such times, we talk about these problems for a while, then forget them totally.

The truth is that the rest of India regularly ignores the northeastern region. Whatever the reason, for the last four decades the northeastern region was never considered a part of India's political mainstream. Only when there are problems there do we pay attention to it. Later, we forget all about it. When the Nagas rebelled in the 1950's and 1960's, then we paid some attention to the region, especially to one part of it. Later, during the 1960's, the Chinese aggression reminded us how ignorant we were about the problems of the northeastern region. During the 1970's, there was unrest in the Khasi hills, and as a result, Meghalaya was established. During that time, there were disturbances in Manipur and some rebellious activities in border areas. The media paid attention to Mizoram because of Lal Denga's revolt.

In this context, Assam and Tripura are considered contradictions. Assam has been an important part of Congress politics, even during the years of the freedom struggle. It is important to mention that, except for Assam, the whole northeastern region was kept out of political activities by the British. Most of this region was kept out of the standard British administrative structure.

After independence, no serious efforts were taken to include this region in the political mainstream. For a time, Nehru paid attention to Verrier Alvin's principle about NEFA [Northeast Frontier Agency]. According to the principle, Verrier had emphasized protection of the social and cultural institutions of the tribal peoples living in that region. He had warned that these institutions should not be insulted, but included in the larger national cultural mainstream, which is rather vague, and whose identity is usually in the Hindi-centered regional culture. The final results of all these efforts was that no definite policy was established for the northeastern region. The attitude of total neglect remained, and the result of it was that whenever a local or regional dissatisfaction erupted, the central government took armed action and later, following its only and easy option, changed the region into a small state. This way, the remote state of Assam was divided again, just as it was during the British area. As a result, Nagaland and Meghalaya were established. At the same time, Manipur and Tripura, two very small counties, were given the level of states. Finally, NEFA was given the glorious identity of Arunachal Pradesh.

This constitutional strategy postponed the eruption of dissatisfaction among the local people for some time. However, it did not solve the long-term problems of this region. Furthermore, even the two-language problem of Kachar, in the Assam Valley, was not resolved. During the 1970's and 1980's, this anger was evident in the "immigration of foreigners" from Bangladesh.

This anger gave birth to the Assam student movement, which led to the 1985 Assam agreement. Rajiv Gandhi thought that he had solved the Assam problem after taking care of the Punjab issue. Whatever decisions were made in the Punjab agreement (the Center's neglect of most of the demands in that agreement is surprising), an analysis of this agreement shows that many parts of the Assam agreement were also very difficult for any government to implement. It should be noted that the central government, in its hurry, did not discuss the issue with the Congress leaders in Assam or with other political parties before preparing the agreement. The present chief minister of Assam can explain how his government is finding it so difficult to implement those conditions.

In order to understand the problems of the northeastern region, it is important to learn about the present situation in Assam. At this time, the Bodo campaign is inactive; however, this is a seasonal inactivity, and the campaign can start again after the harvest if the central government does not conclude the already progressing talks in time. It is important to mention here that the

central government had, in the beginning, encouraged the Bodo campaign to let it evolve into a full-fledged movement. This included armed activities during the political unrest against the Assam Gana Parishad government in Gauhati. Now that the Congress (I) has taken over Assam's government, it has changed its attitude toward the Bodo campaign in Assam.

As for ULFA [United Liberation Front of Assam], it is important to understand that it had originally begun in the extremist branch of the Assam Gana Parishad. It got support from the Assam Gana Parishad Home Minister, Mr. Bharagu Phunkan. He had protected this movement like his personal property, and as part of his struggle for power against the Assam Gana Parishad. However, as time passed, the Assam Gana Parishad government lost its footing because of corruption and inefficiency, and ULFA emerged as a powerful group. Its armed activities basically followed the "Robin Hood" approach; in other words, it looted the rich and helped the poor. It received great support from most of Assam. In the beginning, instead of controlling it through political means, the central government launched Operation Bajrang with the army. This aggravated the situation, and the government did not show any wisdom in solving this sensitive issue.

When Mr. Hiteshwar Saikia became chief minister after the election, he alleviated this situation to an extent when he announced a blanket pardon to ULFA prisoners. Actually, Mr. Saikia had honored the demands of the majority of the Assamese people. This group had asked for a policy more of greater understanding toward the ULFA youth. However, at this time, the ULFA leaders made two very serious mistakes: First, they did not take the Assam government's proposal to resolve the issue through talks seriously. Second, they started to kidnap people. Both these activities made most of the Assamese people angry at them, and Mr. Saikia had no alternative but to invite the army.

The army action, this time known as Operation Rhino, was limited to specific areas. The ULFA leadership was hurt greatly, since it appears that most of leaders were arrested, thereby breaking its command line. The popular support it had has disappeared now. Mr. Saikia wisely kept the avenues for talks open. Only time will tell if the ULFA will show equal wisdom in response.

The ULFA problem is one of many in the northeastern region. Most of the time, the whole region is drowned in very bitter feelings. The rest of India is separate from the northeastern region because of political, cultural, and philosophical differences. New Delhi has no clear policy to deal with the northeastern region. Various efforts were made to solve the problem, such as the initiative taken by the planning commission in 1990, no follow-up work was done. The new resources in the Brahmaputra and Bateaux Valleys were never seriously investigated. The plans to use these resources are out of the question.

As a result of this, the desire to free itself from the central government's hold, or at least to disassociate itself from it, took momentum. This writer visited the northeastern region recently and met with many students. When an informed student was asked if the extremist group leaders have decided to split, he said in definite words, "New Delhi listens only the language of rifles. When Mr. Laldenga had announced the independence of Mizoram, only then did the central government start talks with him. The same thing happened in the Fizo and Naga affair. Is there any other language that New Delhi understands?"

This is a challenge, not only for the government in New Delhi, but also for us all. We should honestly start efforts to win the hearts of the people in the northeastern region and make them feel that they are part of us.

Party Secretary Yechuri Says Communism Still Alive

92AS0012A Bombay NAVBHARAT TIMES in Hindi
11 Sep 91 p 6

[Commentary by Sitaram Yechuri, secretary of the Central Committee of the CPI(M): "Events in USSR and the CPI(M)"; quotation marks as published]

[Text] The recent developments in the Soviet Union have polarized the relationship between countries supporting communism and those who are opposed to it. The West, under the leadership of George Bush, has expressed joy and euphoria over the events there. They call it "the victory of the people." The echo of this anticommunist campaign is being heard in our country, too. We see its impression in the miles-long analyses written by our political analysts. The Indian "socialists" who were born anticommunists and whose full-time occupation is to spread poisonous propaganda, have also joined this bandwagon. It has especially targeted the CPI(M) [Communist Party of India-Marxist], because the CPI(M) is honestly and fearlessly adamant about its support for communism and its opposition to anti-communist forces.

Their tirade against the CPI (M) is based on some previous demands, which are being expressed with emotion rather than through prudence. Before we say anything about these attacks, which incidentally are following the path we had predicted, it is important that we analyze the events that have occurred in the Soviet Union.

It is clear that whatever happens as a result of the steps being taken to save the Soviet Union, the Soviet Union we have known for many years will never be the same again. However, the far-reaching changes that are occurring in its political structure clearly indicate the rebirth of capitalism there. This action is not limited to hurting communism in the Soviet Union, but will affect the international situation and India. Therefore, not only the CPI(M), but all those who desire social equality in this country, are worried by these events.

The Bolshevik Revolution and the emergence of communism in the Soviet Union were a strong impetus for the Indian struggle for independence. Millions of Indians were inspired by this development and joined in the struggle against colonial slavery. The communist system in the Soviet Union provided India with an industrial, planned, and mixed economy. The rulers of the free India had never even dreamed of such a system. The Soviet Union had always supported India in its foreign relations efforts. Its important role in defeating Hitler's fascist efforts showed the path of freedom to the colonies. All these events had a great influence on the progress of modern India. These events have caused a vacuum in many areas and have resulted in indecision. There is serious danger that the separation of various Soviet republics might give impetus to our separatist elements.

An even more important development is the absence of the role of the Soviet Union. The Western world, under the leadership of George Bush, has started to force its "new world order" on the communist world. Economic exploitation of Third World countries will definitely be accelerated. Similarly, threats like Super-301 would be made daily. The people of India understand such threats very well. Imperialist agencies like the IMF will be used to weaken the economies of independent nations even more. The truth is that it is scary to even think about a nation on which the United States of America will impose its conditions. The Sikh terrorists and the Kashmiri terrorists that get support from the Pakistani soldiers will receive open endorsements from the United States of America. Those who ignore such serious results should remember that the U.N. resolution suggesting a referendum in the Kashmir valley is still alive. The United States and Pakistan could not succeed in their conspiracy because of the Soviet veto. Now we will not be able to get such support anymore. The imperialist conspiracies to divide our country into many parts will be difficult for our nation to counter.

The present developments in the Soviet Union, and U.S. interference in Western countries, should be viewed against this background. They are looking at this as an opportunity for which they have been waiting for a long time, and which the people bravely opposed for 74 years. This opportunity is not just to end communism and bring those countries under their sphere for economic exploitation, but also is the opportunity to mold a world that would be a slave to their commands. Therefore, they have shamelessly interfered and caused these events. Even THE NEW YORK TIMES said on 29 August that the Bush government was trying to influence Soviet politics, for the first time in 70 years, since the 1918-19 Bolshevik revolutions in Russia.

Unfortunately, these capitalists, rooting under the flag of "democracy," are totally ignorant of the results of such imperialist interference and conspiracies. Actually, they are helping those powers that are working to ruin our economy and self-dependence, and forcing us to bow

down to the "market economy gods." They are bent upon ending social equality and justice.

The events in the Soviet Union were not unexpected. Since 1987, the CPI(M) had repeatedly criticized the policies adopted by the Soviet Union under the leadership of Gorbachev. The main thrust of the CPI(M) criticism was that these policies, instead of giving new strength to communism, were going to open doors for the break of the Soviet Union and the reinstatement of capitalism. As a result of the events of the last four years, the Soviet Union is on the brink of disintegration, and is surrounded by economic, political, moral, and social catastrophes.

The emergency steps taken after the 19 August coup attempt were viewed by the CPI(M) as steps toward destruction. This effort failed. The people who attacked the CPI(M) would be better off if they thought about the cycle of events. One person, regardless of his position, orders the imposition of restrictions on the communist party of the Soviet Union in the name of democracy. Full freedom has been given to destroy the symbols of those who opposed fascism. In the name of democracy, Gorbachev and Yeltsin, without taking advice from the people, are talking about running the government. The idea is that if one fails, the other will take over, or that both will share.

It is important for me to answer three of the accusations, among many, that were levied against the CPI(M). The first is the independent analysis by the CPI(M) about Marxism and Leninism. It has been said for many years that the CPI(M) lacks any independent ideology, and that it acts according to the orders of Moscow or Beijing. Now the same people are saying that the CPI(M) cannot even understand the changes happening in Moscow. It really is surprising. Actually, our critics just cannot digest the fact that the CPI(M), since its birth in 1964, had to continue an ideological campaign, both at national and international levels, for two decades. It had balanced the difference between the communist parties in the Soviet Union and China, and had formed a powerful left-wing party based on Marxist-Leninism. It is this original ideology and its experience that are the greatest strengths of the CPI(M).

The 19 August events, the CPI(M) reaction, and support for it are being presented in a way that suggests that the CPI(M) is opposed to any "reforms" in communism. For a long time, the CPI(M) has believed that the economic system in communist countries has been more stable than that of capitalist countries. This continuous process helped improve democratic and citizen rights within this framework. Problems were caused because these changes did not happen at the right time. However, the CPI(M) had also repeatedly warned that all changes should be made within the framework of Marxist-Leninism. The problems that have emerged in the communist system cannot be solved by capitalist prescriptions. In the Soviet Union, reforms were made to reinstate capitalism rather

than to help strengthen communism. In other words, in the name of curing the sickness, the patients were being sent to their death.

Mr. Madhu Limye and Mr. Madhu Dandavate both have raised questions about the CPI(M)'s faith in democracy under the title of "the Indian brand of communism." It would be better if they consider that whether it is in Punjab, Kashmir, or Assam, or if it is dealing with the question of national unity, the CPI(M) has always been in the forefront of such campaigns. Where are the "socialists" hiding in Punjab? We would be surprised to know that only in Kerala and West Bengal, the power was decentralized appropriately under the leadership of CPI(M). Our "socialists" had the opportunity to form a government several times in the past. (They were never able to win elections on their own.) Why didn't they try to take such a step?

They have gone to such extremes while criticizing the CPI(M) that the Janata Dal should reconsider its relationship with the CPI(M) now. Everyone is free and welcome to do so. However, they should always keep in mind that the CPI(M) could never deter from its allegiance to communism. It will never support a person who cannot claim to be legitimate representatives of the people.

Those who live in glass houses should not throw stones at other peoples' homes. This is the opportunity for the Indian "socialists" should look at themselves and examine their lack of direction during the last several years. They should also examine the democratic faith of their associates.

Those who question the faith of the CPI(M) in democracy are insulting the people of our country. It was the people of West Bengal that kept the CPI(M) in power for 14 years in their state. Those who celebrate the death of communism should answer a question. Do they believe that capitalism is the last step in the progress of human society? As long as exploitation is the basis for capitalism, the desire to get rid of exploitation and to be independent will not die. This is the point on which Marxist-Leninist philosophy will always remain strong. Their ideals of salvation, humanism, and dreams of equality will always inspire us against difficulties and problems.

(Mr. Sitaram Yechuri is a member of the Central Committee of the Marxist Communist Party.)

Communists Observe Oct Revolution Anniversary

Calcutta Meeting

92AS0340A Calcutta *THE TELEGRAPH* in English
8 Nov 91 p 1

[Text] Calcutta, 7 November—The chief minister, Mr. Jyoti Basu, today said the recent events in the Soviet Union were a serious setback and would delay the eventual and inevitable victory of socialism.

Speaking at a meeting at Esplanade East on the 74th anniversary of the October Revolution, Mr. Basu said it was necessary to learn from the mistakes of the Soviets and correct any anomalies. He regretted that the leaders of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) had alienated themselves from the common people and squandered away resources on defence and space exploration instead of concentrating on the production of consumer goods.

Though the anniversary of the Bolshevik Revolution falls in November, it is called the October Revolution because of the different Soviet calendar.

Mr. Basu said this anniversary was particularly painful because of the recent events in the cradle of the revolution, which had served as an example of an ideal society to him. He felt that the present Soviet leaders were brainwashing the people into believing that Marxism was a mistake.

"We cannot forget history. We cannot forget the role of the Soviet people in defeating Nazism and their efforts to stand by the Third World people fighting for freedom from their imperialist masters," he said.

Mr. Basu recalled that Marxism had helped to transform a backward, semi-feudal Russia into a modern nation and helped to "create a new man with a new spirit." He added that Rabindranath Tagore had visited the Soviet Union after the revolution and lauded the efforts to rebuild the country.

Esplanade East was awash with red flags as thousands of the faithful converged from different parts of the city and state to pay tribute to the working class heroes. Standing before a huge painting of Lenin, Left Front leaders affirmed their faith in the man who took 10 days to shake the world.

Several thousand people who had gathered at Esplanade East early this morning continued to sit with rapt attention till Mr. Basu's speech in the evening. While thousands squatted on mats or stood at the sides, many others gathered at the back, smoking, drinking tea, buying Lenin badges for Rs.[rupees]2 each or browsing through leftist literature. Others bought postcard-sized plastic pictures of Lenin shaking hands with Stalin for Rs. 6.

In between the speeches came bursts of poetry, folk songs and enactment of the Play Kremlin ghari (Kremlin's clock).

CPI Meeting in Delhi

92AS0340B New Delhi *PATRIOT* in English 8 Nov 91
p 3

[Text] The saga of "Great October Socialist Revolution" will remain immortal till the exploitation of man by man is eliminated on this earth. And it is all the more important for the Third World countries to keep the flag of socialism flying.

Reiterating their faith in great ideas of Marx, Engels and Lenin, the leaders of the Communist Party of India (CPI) gave this message on the occasion of 74th anniversary of the October Revolution in the Capital on Thursday.

Addressing a well-attended meeting, M. Farooqi, secretary of CPI's National Council, said the recent happenings in the USSR in no way had endangered the existence of socialism. "In Russia, the socialist experience has not failed, it is only a particular model which might have failed."

Mr. Farooqi said the Communists of India should draw a lesson that every Communist party has to choose its own path of socialism. No uniform model of socialism, as perceived earlier, could be applied, as the conditions and backgrounds of each country differ.

Talking about the Indian conditions, Mr. Farooqi said the CPI did not accept dictatorship of the proletariat rather they believe in multi-party system. The CPI would like peaceful transition to socialism in Indian conditions, he added.

Mr. Farooqi lashed out at the Western propaganda which tried to prove that socialism was dead. Calling the recent Russian experience a "temporary setback," he said socialism remained an attractive idea for the Third World, which has increasingly become dependent on the foreign borrowing.

He asserted that socialism is not the monopoly of the Russians. Though October Socialist Revolution took place there, it had a wider and profound international impact. By defeating the fascist forces during the Second World War, it paved the way for the resurgence of national liberation movements all over the world. It created a new balance of forces in the post-World War era and posed a constant threat to the Western imperialism, he added.

The CPI leaders expressed anguish over the Russian government not celebrating the 74th anniversary of the October Revolution. Mr. Farooqi said the CPI earlier supported the Russian President Gorbachev because the latter had promised to provide a new human face to socialism. But the Russians distracted from this path.

While calling the October Revolution a greatest event of the 20th Century, Mr. Farooqi wished that the Russians would find a way out of these complexities and restore the path of socialism.

Another CPI leader and MP [member of Parliament] Chaturanan Mishra said the Communist movement would fast spread in the Third World countries, because the October Revolution showed a new path to the humankind.

CPI-M Deli Meeting

92AS0340C New Deli PATRIOT in English 8 Nov 91
p 3

[Text] While celebrations of October revolution in the Soviet Union, cradle of the revolution took on a different hue for the first time ever in 74 years, leaders of the Communist Party of India-Marxist (CPI-M), renewed with vigour their pledge to Marxism-Leninism and socialism at a meeting in the Capital on Thursday.

Not only was there no parade in the historic Red Square, this year, two separate rallies were held to commemorate the 74th anniversary, said Harkishan Singh Surjeet, CPI-M Politburo member.

The party leaders also informed that the CPI-M, this time, has not sent felicitations to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU), but to those who still believe in Marxism-Leninism.

The central committee document on the turbulence in the socialist world, the speakers informed, is now there for the party members to debate. The document seeks answers to the rapidly changing phenomena in the Soviet Union and the setbacks suffered by the socialist system.

The system did develop sores, yet the remedy, instead of becoming palliative, festered the wounds. The blame for wrongly channelising the reforms outside the framework of Marxism-Leninism, was laid squarely by the leaders, on Gorbachev. But the socialist forces, lying low at present, will assert to sound the death knell of capitalism, the leaders pronounced.

As the CPI-M understands the debacles in the Soviet Union, Mr. Surjeet explained, are mainly because it lacked the benefit of having a predecessor. Compared to 300 years of capitalism, socialism is still an infant, it was observed.

"Mistakes in a system, taking roots in a backward country, were inevitable," Mr. Surjeet said. Coupled with this, were the act of sabotage by the bureaucracy. It was a mistaken notion that socialism would bring an immediate solution to all problems. "This is too simplistic an explanation," the Politburo member pointed out.

Criticising the CPI document on the Soviet Union for failing to take a clear stance, the veteran Communist leader said, "we are proud to recollect our note of disapproval of glasnost and perestroika four years back." The party in a resolution in 1988 had criticised the various deviationist trends in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union.

Mr. Surjeet continued, "when all other Communist parties are scrambling to change their names, the CPI-M reiterates once again its faith in Marxism-Leninism." He also welcomed the stand taken by China and Cuba in defence of socialism.

Marxist-Leninist Meeting

92AS0340D New Delhi PATRIOT in English 8 Nov 91
p 3

[Quotation marks as published]

[Text] The Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) CPI-ML] observed the 74th anniversary of Great October Socialist Revolution on Thursday.

Nearly 3,000 party activists from Delhi, UP [uttar Pradesh], Punjab and Shringanganapar took out a procession from Firozshah Kotla grounds to Rajpath. The processionists carried placards and raised slogans against imperialism and revisionism, and in defence of Marxism-Leninism and Maoism. They decried the attempts of the Bush-Gorbachev-Yeltsin combine to defame and slander socialism and also of the revisionists, who are echoing these 'slanders.'

Addressing a public meeting at the end of the rally, General Secretary of the central committee, Yatendra Kumar said, the present crisis in the Soviet Union and other socialist countries was due to the pursuance of the capitalist path and betrayal of socialism. He said the Soviet revisionists who had restored capitalism in the Soviet Union under the Khrushchev-Brezhnev leadership, no longer need the socialist mask.

Mr. Yatendra Kumar further said that the much-touted parliamentary path of the CPI [Communist Party of India] and CPI(M) is getting increasingly discredited. The New Democratic Revolution is the only solution to the basic problems of the people.

Others who addressed the rally included Gurmeet Singh, Secretary, Punjab state committee, Ashish Mittal, secretary, UP state committee, and V.K. Patole, leader of the Delhi-Indian Federation of Trade Union (IFTU). The speakers denounced the attacks of the reactionary forces against Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Mao.

Report of Finance Minister's Speech to Editors

92AS0356A Calcutta *THE STATESMAN* in English
8 Nov 91 p 1

[Text] New Delhi, 7 November—The Union Finance Minister, Dr. Manmohan Singh, today announced the government would soon relax import curbs, begin 20 percent disinvestment in profitable public sector undertakings and streamline agricultural credit policy to carry forward economic reforms, report PTI and UNI.

Inaugurating the three-day economic editors' conference here, Dr. Singh said the government would seek direct foreign investment rather than credit as international confidence in the Indian economy had been restored.

He said the Narasimham Committee on Monetary Reforms and the Raja Chelliah Committee on Tax Reforms would submit their reports soon which would form the basis for reforms in the banking system and the tax structure.

He, however, ruled out introducing agricultural tax and hinted at drastic reduction in excise and Customs duty to give a boost to trade and industry.

Dr. Manmohan Singh expressed concern over the sharp decline in loan recoveries from the farm sector, largely because of the loan waiver scheme. He said this would be discussed with NABARD [National Bank for Agricultural and Rural Development] and other agencies at a meeting next month.

He said taxation was not the only way to mop up resources for development. There were several ways of utilizing agriculture surplus, particularly in the development of rural cooperatives and agro-based industries as had happened in Punjab and Maharashtra.

Defending economic reforms, he said the economy would grow by about 3.5 percent this year going up to an average of 6 percent in the next four years, making India "an exciting market."

The finance minister told a questioner that steps to attract foreign investment were not a surrender to the international agencies.

Concessional loans were no longer as easy to secure and the country would have to reduce reliance on international loan capital and switch over to direct foreign investment to deal with the balance of payments problem, he said. Dr. Singh said the government had created a climate for attracting foreign capital and hoped this would produce desired results soon.

He spoke of overcoming the psychological barrier against the multinationals and said only they could introduce the latest technology and bring in foreign investment.

Expressing concern over the price situation, the finance minister said a basic feature of all Government programmes and policies would be anti-inflation.

Reiterating the government's resolve to bring down the fiscal deficit to 6.5 percent of GDP [gross domestic product] this year, he indicated that steps would be taken to control inflation.

He said the government was not averse to more foreign banks opening branches in the country. The government was committed to making the banking sector more modern and efficient to bring it at up to international standards.

The finance minister said the reforms would not undermine the small-scale and tiny sectors. Rather the government had provided greater strength to the SSTS and was committed to removing all difficulties in their way.

Dr. Manmohan Singh referred to criticism of his statement on sick units and clarified he had only stated that "patently unviable" public sector companies would be closed down. Proposals on disinvestment in select public sector units would be placed before the cabinet within the next 10 days. A beginning would be made with the profitable enterprises, he added.

He said the World Bank had assured a \$400 to \$600-million loan to finance the national renewal fund that would provide a social safety net to affected employees.

Denying there was pressure from the international Monetary Fund to reduce the defence budget, Dr. Manmohan Singh said India's defence spending was only about 2.8 percent of the GDP, compared to the world average of 5.5 percent.

He, however, said suggestions for reducing defence spending could not be ignored, and without compromising security, there should be "a hard look" at defence expenditure.

He said India, Pakistan and China should together find out ways of keeping down their defence expenditure.

The finance minister said next year's budget would detail further measures for economic reform.

Finance Minister Tells Planned Economic Steps

92AS0346A Madras *THE HINDU* in English 19 Nov 91
p 1

[Text] New Delhi, 18 November—Indian industry will be exposed to the full blast of international competition over the next few years, the Union Finance Minister, Dr. Manmohan Singh, announced here today. To achieve this, the government will announce, along with the next budget, a medium-term import tariff policy which will aim to bring down the high import duties to levels comparable with those prevailing in other developing countries.

The announcement by the Finance Minister was part of a series of government intentions that he shared with international and national industrialists at the India

Forum meeting organised by the Confederation of Engineering Industry (CEI). First, he said, foreign companies which held less than 51 percent equity in ventures here would be allowed to expand their holdings to 51 percent and to operate under the new norms set out in the Industrial Policy declared on 24 July. Second, a group of officials was looking into the changes required in the Foreign Exchange Regulation Act (FERA), but FERA as a whole would not be scrapped. Third, the restrictions imposed on fresh foreign investment like foreign exchange cover for import of capital goods and dividend repatriation clauses were temporary and would be removed once the balance of payments position improved.

Review of direct taxes: The Minister also agreed that direct tax rates in India were on the high side and required a review with the intention of bringing them down. He also said the government would closely look into possible areas of cutting expenditure, including Defence expenditure.

Responding to queries from industrialists, Dr. Singh made it clear that industry was overprotective and must be prepared to face international competition to the full extent. The government would offer whatever help was a required for industry to face up to this competition, but it was not possible to continue with the tariff rates as high as they were today. "India has to come to terms with the new world order where tariffs are no longer a mechanism to protect domestic industries."

On the question of allowing existing FERA companies with less than 51 percent equity to upgrade their stake, the Minister said the announcement in this regard was expected in the next few days. His reply came in response to the point that with the new Industrial Policy, existing FERA companies were adversely affected vis-a-vis new investments since the earlier ones had to operate under stringent conditions.

Dr. Singh, however, ruled out any special valuation of the shares of these companies for upgradation of equity holding as has been done at the time of disinvestment with the introduction of FERA. "Since we are moving towards market forces, let the fresh investment come in at the market-related values. Arbitrary fixing of share values by officials as in the past does not fit into the new structure."

On a related issue, he said the functions of the Controller of Capital Issues were being reviewed with the intention of transferring the regulatory and market supervision powers to the Securities and Exchange Board of India (SEBI). Legislation in this regard would be brought before Parliament soon.

FERA provisions to be removed: To a question on when he would abandon FERA, the Minister said only those provisions hindering foreign investment would be removed. Officials looking into this aspect would give a report in a few weeks.

In reference to direct foreign investment, the Minister said that the attached conditions such as arrangement for foreign exchange to cover import of capital goods and repatriation of dividends were temporary restrictions imposed in view of the balance of payments problem. Once the situation improved in the coming years these would be removed.

Briefly responding to the question of reforms being extended to the financial sector, Dr. Singh said the intention was to make the banking sector internationally competitive. Consequently, the idea was to make the banks more productive, prudent and with ensured capital adequacy.

In another context, the Minister refused to comment on lowering of direct tax rates, but drew attention to his Budget speech wherein he had said that his intention was to move over a period of three years towards a direct tax regime comparable with the system prevailing in other developing countries. Even otherwise, from the point of view of better tax compliance, he felt there was need to review the taxation rates with the intention of bringing them down over time.

Steps To Aid Foreign Trade, Participation

Foreign Equity Approval

92AS0342A Madras *THE HINDU* in English 20 Nov 91
p 9

[Text] New Delhi, 19 November—The Central Government today announced that automatic approval from the Reserve Bank would be given to foreign equity holding companies to increase their stake to 51 percent.

Companies exclusively engaged in high priority industries can increase foreign equity to 51 percent and other companies can also do this provided their expansion programmes are for high priority industries. In both cases, the additional foreign equity must be from remittances of foreign exchange.

The Industry Ministry has also announced details of the procedures for increasing foreign equity, preferential share allocation and share valuation in the case of foreign investors.

The liberalisation in the case of foreign equity holding companies has been given as outlined in the industrial policy statement made by the government on 24 July this year.

Referring to the requirement of preferential share allocation, the announcement said that on receipt of the Reserve Bank approval, the company must pass a special resolution under Section 81 (1A) of the Companies Act proposing preferential allocation of the required volume of fresh equity to the foreign investor. In respect of the equity holdings of financial institutions in such companies, the Finance Ministry will separately advise the

financial institutions that they may support such proposals provided in their commercial judgment, they are in the interest of the company.

The Controller of Capital Issues (CCI) will allow preferential allocation of equity in favour of the foreign investor on the basis of the Reserve Bank approval for expansion of foreign equity and the adoption of the special resolution by the company. In such cases the price of new equity will be fixed by the CCI on the basis of market prices with a discount of up to 10 percent.

In the case of import of capital goods for expansion programmes, the Reserve Bank will have to confirm whether the import is covered by foreign equity. Based on this confirmation, the CCI will issue the relevant import licence.

Loans for Exporters

92AS0342B *Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA*
in English 7 Nov 91 p 13

[Article by Subir Roy: "Now, Hard Currency Loans for Exporters"]

[Text] New Delhi, 6 November—One more small step has been taken to globalise the Indian economy with the Reserve Bank of India allowing the Export-Import [Exim] Bank of India to provide "foreign currency preshipment credit" to Indian exporters.

Under this new scheme, Indian exporters wanting to import raw materials and components covered by the Open General Licence (OGL) system can take a foreign currency loan from Exim Bank which will be repaid by the realisation of export proceeds within 90 days of shipment, according to Mr. R.M.V. Raman, deputy general manager of the bank here.

The exporter is thus able to get credit, a difficult enough task in itself today in view of the dire straits of Indian banks, and also pay a rate of interest approximating to international rates prevailing for a particular hard currency instead of paying an exorbitant 20 percent plus for rupee loans. In view of the fact that the deal is to be completed within three months, the exchange risk is negligible.

As Mr. Raman explained, "we have expanded the menu of choice for the exporter who has to import, our credit will be at international prices." Exim Bank initiated the proposal three years ago and it was dusted up and relooked at after the present liberalisations started.

There is some irony in the fact Exim Bank had planned to source its funds from international money markets by issuing short term (three to six months) paper but currently India is technically out of this area because of its below investment-grade rating. Had the scheme been approved three years earlier when it had been first mooted, sourcing it would not have been any problem.

Even now Exim Bank is optimistic as its initial contacts with mainly its European Associates has produced a positive response. This is because the purpose is transparent and the financing is trade-based with the buyers being mostly OECD residents. Indian banks are currently having to pay 2-2.5 percent above the London Inter-Bank Offered Rate (LIBOR) for international accommodation.

Exim Bank refuses to speculate on what rate it will be able to lend at but some indications are available from current Euro-currency rates. Three month dollars should be available at 8 percent to Indian banks. Exim Bank's spread for this facility is not yet worked out but it traditionally lends at half percent above what it pays. Thus a dollar loan should be available at a little less than 10 percent, that is not even half of what a rupee loan would attract. This has to be set off against any loss due to the depreciation of the Indian rupee in three months.

This is not the only advantage from the new scheme. As those making imports under the OGL facility do not have to register themselves anymore, all that an exporter now will have to do, if his import requirements are under OGL, is to go to Exim Bank with a copy of his order to get the loan.

As Exim Bank is test marketing the scheme now it is unable to say who its main customers will be but the automotive and pharmaceutical sectors should be the first to queue up.

Changes in Rural Development Seen Essential

New Economic System

92AS0236A *New Delhi JANSATTA in Hindi* 30 Oct 91
p 6

[Article by Raghunandan Larh: "A New Foundation of Development Built on the Graves of Villages"]

[Text] We can say without any hesitation now that the path of our 40-year developmental plans led from the graves of villages to the development of cities. Each government announced implementation of old industrial policies and used various new names to mislead the people. The recently announced liberal industrial policy, we have claimed, will solve many of our chronic problems. These include: changing the loan balance, the foreign exchange problem, underutilization of production capability, the appropriate use of capital, and regional imbalance. Only the future will tell us how much we will succeed in solving these issues.

If we focus on rural development and agricultural improvement then we can make a long list of poverty eradication projects such as: unified village development program, regional development program, draught-stricken regional development program, desert development program, rural youth training, refugee rehabilitation, and the creation of new jobs, etc. However, because

of corruption, government apathy, bureaucracy's neglect of its duties, and ignorance of the villagers, none of these programs were successful.

Our planner has not recognized the fact that more than 80 percent of India's people live in villages and only a prosperous rural India will mean a prosperous India. The root cause of our problems is the desire to spend all development capital in urban areas. We are now surrounded by the foreign exchange problems. Today the foreign debt is about 20 trillion rupees. We are not able to get loans or any other kind of help easily. It does not matter how much we try to cover it, the fact is we were forced to devalue the rupee under pressure from the IMF and the World Bank. We will have to bear the pressure of these international financial agencies in the future also. The liberal policy about foreign investments now being adopted is also a result of this pressure. The dangers of foreign capital appear after a long time. It appears impossible today to say that a foreign flag will follow foreign investment. However, there are also other dangers there. Foreign capital may solve the problems of foreign debts and foreign exchange temporarily, however, this will also compete with local capital and increase regional imbalance, economic problems, distortion in production structure, corruption, and political interference.

The responsibility of our present economic catastrophe falls on ridiculous investment on urban industrialization. The extremely expensive foreign techniques did indeed increase industrial development, however, we have always hesitated disclosing who benefited most from these developments. Petroleum is mostly used by urban industries. Imported electronic equipment, whether for production or for consumer use, is mostly utilized in the cities. Extravagant abuse of foreign exchange in the name of research and development is also mainly used in this area. More imports are made to meet the needs of the urban industrial areas than those of rural agricultural areas. Many such reasons can be cited here that caused the problem of foreign exchange and foreign debt payment.

Granted that the main reason for unemployment is the high increase in population, however, our investment strategy for development is also responsible for it. We are pushing the urban capitalistic industrialization toward the 21st century and pushing the rural and subsistence areas backward. We were jumping with joy when we produced 170 million tons of grain as if we had broken a world record. If we take a look at the agricultural production of the now-suffering Soviet Union and compare its agricultural production of the past with our production, we will find that one-third as much as of our population managed to produce twice as much food grains on almost as much land. This country is now surrounded with all kind of problems!

We had started with China on the path of planned development and its annual growth rate is now twice ours and its population growth rate is half of ours. That

country paid attention to its majority rural population and paid more attention to strengthen rural economy.

After spending millions on higher education we are producing doctors, engineers, and technocrats now. However, either they do not have jobs in villages or any city-like attraction to work there. They leave the burden of their education on the taxpayers and move abroad.

Even our teachers and village development officials do not want to live in villages. Are we aware that we have not been able to provide even one of the basic needs such as transportation, drinking water, sanitation, schools, electricity, sewage, pastures, and fuel in rural areas to this day? Our villages are very remote from the consumer economic system, and despite being exploited, they still are self-sufficient and are able to support urban needs. If the price of milk increases from six to seven rupees per liter, we raise a hue and cry. However, we remain silent when the price of a scooter is raised from 12,000 rupees to 20,000 rupees. We find subsidy for chemical fertilizers unbearable, but we do not complain about increasing government expenses. The villagers' income and living standards are way below that of the hardships they have to suffer there.

Higher education that contributes to unemployment is being expanded haphazardly. At the same time, students in village schools do not have enough facilities or supplies or teachers. The wage scales in villages are too low even for buying a good meal because there is no leadership there. Meanwhile, wages and allowances are increased rapidly in cities using such tactics as strikes and threats of hunger strikes. There is no relationship between wage rates and production rates.

Public sector industries are either losing money or are making nominal profits. Meanwhile, agricultural and other related industries are begging for capital. What is produced is kept hidden and the worth of the produced material is loudly publicized. Increased production of luxury goods and services may help increase national production, these do not necessarily increase prosperity. Of our GNP [gross national product] 60 or 61 percent is from production and the remaining 39 percent is from other areas. Are not we aware that there is a rapid increase in the production of luxury goods for the rich instead of consumer goods for the poor? What kind of planning is this? What kind of development strategy is this?

The recently announced liberal industrial policy will not solve our problems because there is no difference between this and the former industrial policies. The only exception is that we are gradually giving the tasks that the public sector failed to complete to the private sector. The urban capitalist industrial sector is still the top priority of this policy. We have even allowed entry of capital system in our small-scale industries. At the same time, because of the fear of foreign exchange crisis, we have forced our cottage industries to face foreign competitions.

If progress means increased social welfare, then we have to adopt Mr. Gandhi's model of "helping the most and making the most people happy." Instead of considering increased production using scientific methods as the standard for progress, we have to consider the results of hard work and production of consumer goods as the basis of progress. This needs neither foreign exchange nor the expensive imported technology. The people will have more opportunities to participate in employment and administration. Industries will be decentralized and the invisible unemployment in the rural areas will disappear. Wealth will be more fairly distributed and social exploitation will be reduced. Whoever works will keep the earnings. In order to strengthen rural economy, we must check the urban horse of industrial development and help accelerate the rural ox cart. The economists dressed in neckties and suits can call it backward thinking, however, we definitely need Gandhi-Vinoba-Aamte unified model instead of Herrod-Dumer model. It is possible that the GNP will increase some during the coming years and exports will also increase according to our government's hopes. It is also possible that there will be increased competition in our industries to avoid being overtaken by the multinational companies. However, these will not solve our economic problems because the U.S. and German models cannot succeed in a country like India. Unemployment will not decrease. Instead, because of deterioration of agriculture and village industries, a new army of the unemployed will be created. A portion of our nation's population may become prosperous, but the common citizen will become poorer. The more unfortunate thing will be that India as a nation will lose its dignity and specific identity.

Environmental Steps Required

92AS0236B Varnasi AJ in Hindi 28 Oct 91 p 6

[Editorial: "Environmental Protection Is Impossible Without Rural Development"]

[Text] Circumstantial catastrophes are knocking at India's doors. During the last three decades 5 million hectare jungles have been cleared for agriculture and other uses. At the time of independence, 22 percent or 0.7 million square km of our nation's 3.2 million square km was covered by jungles. However, because of uncontrolled urbanization, industrialization, and illegal logging only 9 percent of the jungles are left. The speed at which the jungles are being destroyed now, soon only 6 percent or 0.2 million square km of land will be under jungles. This is the extremity that will lay open the major land portion of India for natural catastrophes.

According to our 1952 national forest policy, our target was to transform 33 percent of our land into forests. The hope of fulfilling this target is just a fantasy now. As the result, the nation is paying a heavy price for destroying our jungles in the form of floods and droughts.

The soil erosion has increased so much during the last 15 years that its rate has gone from 6 billion tons to 12

billion tons per year. The state governments did not give serious attention to this continuous practice of jungle destruction. The situation is such that jungle conservation must be encouraged at every level. The people must be made aware of this issue on a wide scale and be prepared to help. The goals of resource conservation cannot be attained without implementing all rural development projects.

According to a report prepared by environmental experts, 120 to 130 million tons of firewood is needed annually and we are short by 84 millions tons to meet this need. The need for firewood is expected to increase to 375 million tons by the end of this century. It is clear that discrepancy between jungle cutting and tree planting will increase even more. The report has suggested finding alternatives for firewood. However, in addition to the use of firewood for cooking, we need to find alternatives to using trees for animal fodder and making furniture. Rural living is also tied to jungle productions. Therefore, in addition to implementing strict laws, we need to provide these alternative products to the rural population in order to reduce their dependence on jungles. Several such alternatives are available in the market, however, there is the need for making the people aware of these at the governmental level and special subsidies must be provided to make their use attractive.

Another important aspect brought to light by this report is that at present we have the capability to produce 596,000 tons of newsprint. This capability will increase to 1.29 million tons by the end of this century. Providing raw material for this production will be a major problem. In addition, Mr. Rai has given information about the use of bamboo for making litters for carrying the dead to burning places. Eight million tons, or 10 kg per person, of bamboo is used for this purpose annually. These figures are based on a 24-percent population increase and 10-percent mortality rate. An alternative is building electric and gas crematoriums in small and large cities at war footings. It is suggested that aluminum be used instead of bamboo for carrying the dead. This will save about 27 million rupees a year.

The environmental specialists estimate that our country's population will increase to 1.05 billion by 2005 and we will need to increase our present food production by 40 percent to feed that population. This is directly related to agricultural production and other natural resources. Therefore, the problems related to environmental protection can be solved by agriculture and rural development. The consistent development is the one that does not cause a fall in our living standards, is correct from technical point of view, useful according to the situation, and acceptable to social needs. In Mr. Rai's technical suggestions, special attention has been given to the importance and conservation of jungles. If strict action is not taken to stop jungle destruction, all jungles will disappear during the next 15 years.

Forecast of Economic Obstacles

92AS0064B Varnasi AJ in Hindi 22 Sep 91 p 6

[Editorial: "Challenge of Economic Development"]

[Text] India's new developmental plan can only be viewed within the framework of the reality of our severely deteriorating economic conditions. The decisions made in the reorganized Planning Commission indicate the new thinking of our government about economic reforms. In order to strengthen our economic system, it is important to accelerate our production. The goal for increasing domestic production during the eighth Five-Year Plan is 5.6 percent. A total of 79.2 trillion rupees have been appropriated for it. It is natural to give special emphasis to energy, transportation, and communication in development plans, because to encourage industrial progress in the right direction, energy, transportation, and communication are prerequisite elements. At the same time, to help development and progress, we must give priority to controlling population growth, rural electrification, literacy, and health and security in rural areas. These two priorities were always emphasized from the very first Five-Year Plan. However, after seven Five-Year Plans have been implemented, these basic necessities have not been developed to the expected level. In the future, as we emphasize development in these areas, we must also find out why we failed in this area in the past, and where we were wrong.

The eighth plan was prepared during the time of the two previous governments. Mr. Paranab Mukherji, the present chairman of the Planning Commission, has said that the Congress Party has modified the present plan after reviewing the work done by Mr. Ram Karishan Hegde, chairman of the Planning Commission during the Janata Dal government, and Mr. Mohan Dhariya, vice chairman of the Planning Commission during Chandra Shekhar's government. It is obvious that after these reviews, more emphasis will be given to industrial

development, according to the new policy of the Congress government, in order to strengthen our economic structure. The two previous governments were emphasizing development in rural areas. The government had made changes in the eighth Five-Year Plan to achieve the desired results. We will know more about it when detailed information about the changes is provided to us. It appears that most investment is aimed for the public sector. In the new plan, after heavy investment and still not getting the expected gains, an emphasis on the public sector in the eighth Five-Year Plan appears to be very strange odd. After looking at the problems in the public-sector industries, we can say that the government has some political reasons for still giving it priority.

Prime Minister Narsimha Rao hinted in his speech about the problem that the new economic policy could face, and also about its weakness. He had explained that in a meeting of the Planning Commission. The Prime Minister said that it was important to very closely analyze the plans being implemented in the public sector. He had ordered an investigation of every unit, at both the state and central level, and to find ways to improve their productivity. The prime minister also reminded us to keep in mind the reasons that were hindering us in attaining the desired results. In this context, he has ordered that consideration be given to both environment protection and development needs. He has also ordered the reduction in energy production based on petroleum and oil and to emphasize hydroelectric and coal methods for electrical generation. The prime minister said that a poor country like India should try to adopt industrialization, but should not make changes too fast. For a large country like India, where the economy had until now been mostly dependent on rural areas that instead of encouraging heavy industries, we should try to expand our mid-level industries. This had been advocated by Mahatma Gandhi and many prominent economists. How can the nation achieve new economic development plans without disturbing the traditional economic structure? This is the challenge that the prime minister and the government are facing.

Joint Exercises Held With Australian Navy
92AS0345A Calcutta THE TELEGRAPH in English
3 Nov 91 p 5

[Article by S. Srinivasan: "India Opens Waters to Australian Navy"]

[Text] New Delhi, 2 November—In a significant move, India has opened up its waters to a foreign navy for joint naval exercises. The Australian naval frigate, HMAS Torrens, yesterday began its "36-hour training" with three Indian naval ships in the Bay of Bengal.

The Australian warship will also be visiting Port Blair, which has been an extremely sensitive area for the Indian Navy. Fort Andamans houses a three-service command formation. The Indian Navy had envisaged several innovative plans for commanding greater forces from the Andamans and the decision to open up the location is certainly a major concession to the Australian Navy. Nearby from the Car Nicobar islands, India operates its long-range TU-142m maritime reconnaissance aircrafts.

The Austrians have been privately expressing fears about the growth of the Indian Navy and have been routinely criticising it. The arrival of nuclear-powered submarine, Chakra, on lease from the Soviet Union three years ago had stirred the hornet's nest. The Australians accused India of "expansionism" and said that an expenditure of \$20 billion over a six-year period for acquisition of military equipment was clearly far beyond the legitimate needs of India.

However, publicly the Australians have been discounting fears of Indian Navy. A report of the Australian senate committee on foreign affairs, defence and trade, allayed fears about the Indian Navy and said: "India's military power is unlikely to have much effect outside the South Asian region, beyond protection of Indian's territory in the Andaman and Nicobar islands."

The development seems to be part of overall pattern in which India and the United States have agreed to step up cooperation in the field of defence. The United States has been proposing that Indian Navy should conduct joint exercises with them. The decision to have joint exercises with the Australians seems to be testing waters for the Indian government before holding a similar exercises with the Americans.

Australia is a member of five-power defence agreement (FPDA) along with Malaysia, Singapore, United Kingdom, and New Zealand. The Australians have been routinely patrolling the region—from Vietnam to the seas of Andamans—with the help of P3 C-Orions Maritime surveillance aircrafts. The FPDA has also been rotating a F-111 squadron out of an air-base in Malaysia.

The naval frigate HMAS Torrens is a 2750 tonne ship with a crew of 30 officers and 235 sailors and has been in service in South East Asian and Australian waters since 1971. It is being commanded by Mr. Traves Taylor.

Earlier in the 1960s, India had conducted such a joint exercise with Australia as part of commonwealth agreement. After that India has never had any joint naval exercise with a foreign navy on its waters.

Defense Scientists Develop Laser-Guidance Technology

92AS0341A Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA
in English 12 Nov 91 p 8

[Text] Dehradun, 11 November (PTI)—Defence scientists here have made a breakthrough in indigenous development of laser guidance technology paving the way for rapid modernisation of weapons systems.

The landmark achievement has been made by scientists at the Instruments Research and Development Establishment (IRDE), one of the institutes under the Defence Research and Development Organization (DRDO).

Laser guidance will help precision bombing by missiles and bombers there by greatly improving the striking power of the Indian air force.

"What we have is state-of-the-art technology that was used in the recent high-tech war in the Gulf," said IRDE jt, director Dr. K.K. Mohan Rao.

The new lasers are made by alternating one or more layers of indium gallium arsenide with layers of indium gallium arsenide phosphide. The thin layers that constitute the laser head are a mere 400 atoms thick.

The researchers etch away some material to leave the tiny thumbtack-shaped structures that can emit laser light in several directions.

The new lasers operate at extremely low power levels. So they would be well suited as light sources for future optical switches.

Meanwhile, a new company, Photonics Research, based in Broomfield, Colorado, said it is already working to build commercial lasers and transistors based on related semiconductor devices, called vertical cavity lasers.

These are somewhat larger than Bell Laboratories models and can be used in higher power applications.

With the development of this sensitive technology, India has joined the ranks of France and the United States, defence scientists said.

The 31-year-old IRDE is the single major equipment-oriented laboratory within DRDO which designs, develops and produces precision instruments to all three defence services.

The IRDE director, Dr. O.P. Nijhawan, said the institute had also developed advanced laser and infra-red guidance systems for Indian missiles Prithvi and Nag.

The surface-to-air missile Prithvi will be fitted with the IRDE developed laser altitude switch (LAS) that is

designed to explode the missile warhead between 35 and 45 metres above the surface to cause maximum damage.

An advanced homing device for India's third generation anti-tank Nag missile is also undergoing final tests at IRDE.

India will be the first country to introduce this sophisticated homing device for the missile, according to IRDE scientists, who said it would be ready to be fitted into Nag by 1992.

"Our major contribution to the army is the integrated fire control system for the main battle tank Arjun," said Dr. Nijhawan.

An IRDE scientist said India was the second country after France to introduce such a fire control system for its tank.

He said 12 sets of these equipments have already been delivered for the pre-production phase of Arjun. [sentence as published]

Arjun is also fitted with a laser warning device developed at IRDE to warn the tank crew in case the enemy was also using laser to spot it.

When equipped with the gyro land navigation system—also developed at IRDE—Arjun can operate during nights even in deserts where there are no landmarks or reference points, scientists said.

IRDE has equipped the infantry with a host of goggles and binoculars enabling the Jawans to fight in total darkness.

Building of Mandir at Ayodhya Still Explosive Issue

Further Violence Feared

92AS0233A Calcutta ANANDA BAZAR PATRIKA
in Bengali 31 Oct 91 p 4

[Editorial: "Ayodhya Is Still a Question Mark"; quotation marks as published]

[Text] No immediate sign for solving the controversial issue of the religious place of Ayodhya is in sight. But the fear of turning this controversy into a communal riot has probably been averted for the time being. The government of Uttar Pradesh has suppressed the movement organized by the leaders and cadres of the Rashtria Morcha and the Left Alliances under the leadership of V.P. Singh, which wanted to march toward Faizabad. Maybe the government did the right thing. Because V.P. Singh's 'peaceful satyagraha' in the incitement prone Faizabad might undoubtedly be cause for a new series of unrest in the region. It is difficult to assess the real motive of this movement of Rashtria Morcha and Left Alliances. If the motive was to draw the attention of the central government to this matter and to organize the public opinion for a speedy solution of this issue, we have nothing to say. But V.P. Singh has become overwhelmed with grief for the demolition of the temple situated in the government's acquired land adjacent to the mosque and took a pledge to keep the sanctity of the constitution and the decision of the court. But the court did not object to the acquirement of the land or the demolition of the temple, but objected to handing over the land, shifting of idols and building a permanent structure.

Until now, the government of Uttar Pradesh has been abiding by the court decision. The chief minister Kalyan Singh has not yet taken a single step against the law of the country or the jurisdiction of the constitution. He, on the other hand, made a clear and unequivocal promise to abide by the decision of the court. For the BJP [Bharatiya Janata Party], which is the ruling party in Uttar Pradesh, it is a clear departure from its previous stance. Because BJP had been saying all along that the court does not have the right to arbitrate the issues of the birthplace of Rama Chandra. After coming to power through an election, BJP realized that it was a much easier task to transform the movement's demands to an election platform than to fulfill them once in power. Moreover, the militant organizations, which were close associates of BJP and embittered the harmonious atmosphere of the country by propagating ultra Hinduism, were also subdued to some extent by BJP. The decision to accept the ruling of the court is also a good move and a realistic approach in this regard.

On the other hand, we should not be absolutely certain about the intention and activities of the Uttar Pradesh government. Kalyan Singh, the chief minister, assured the central government that no damage would be made

to the Babri mosque. There is no point in disbelieving the promise made by the chief minister of an elected government. But even then, the central government must remain alert and cautious. It is the duty of a secular state to see that the mosque remains intact and to make sure that the religious minority group does not fall into the grip of a sense of insecurity. The home minister of the central government is also aware of it. He made clear that the responsibility to keep law and order in Ayodhya remains primarily in the hands of the state government, but in case of necessity, the central government would not hesitate to intervene. When the matter takes the shape of a serious national issue, when its influence and repercussions create a wave in the life of the whole nation crossing the geographical boundary of a particular state, the central government cannot take the position on the sidelines on the basis of a policy not to interfere in the domestic affair of a state. Alertness and a cautious policy are, therefore, a very important matter in this respect.

UP Government's Responsibility

92AS0233B Calcutta ANANDA BAZAR PATRIKA
in Bengali 28 Oct 91 p 4

[Editorial: "The Mandir Topic Again"]

[Text] Whatever might have been the ruling of the Allahabad high Court, the present image of the Uttar Pradesh [UP] government has been damaged beyond repair. The reasons put forward by the government in favor of the acquirement of land in the area adjacent to the controversial Babri mosque are nothing but the example of pure and simple hypocrisy. It is difficult to believe that an elected government would try to mislead the people of the state and to misinterpret the facts to the court. Because it is not at all difficult to guess that the proposed acquisition of land would be used to build the Rama temple. In fact, even a child can understand that the acquisition of the land was not made for the expansion of the industry of tourism—the reasons put forward by the state government. Maybe the respected ministry thought that if the foundation stone is laid once by the Vishwa Hindu Parishad for the building of a temple in that land, everything would be all right. It might make the friends happy and the critics silent. Above all, after maintaining silence for such a long period of time, the purpose would be fulfilled about the building of the temple. The BJP [Bharatiya Janata Party] candidates would get enormous popular support from the voters in the coming election. BJP is the most influential party in Uttar Pradesh now and the leaders of the party are busy to run the government at Lucknow. The eagerness of chief minister Kalyan Singh to maintain this stronghold is understandable though, but not supportable.

It is understandable that to remain in power in the parliamentary democracy, it is essential to get the support from the voters and there is nothing wrong in doing something that could make the voters happy. But no such thing could be done at the cost of the greater

interest of the state or of the nation as a whole—and such a thing had been done by the Uttar Pradesh government. Now, the overall condition of the country is very complicated and is a matter of great anxiety. Unrest and uncertainty prevailed throughout the country. Terrorist activities are increasing in at least three states. Regionalism is spreading all over the nation and new groups of people are getting involved in the demand for a separatist movement. The law-and-order situation is going from bad to worse. The understanding between different racial groups is deteriorating. This is not the picture of our country only. The different countries of the world, which surrendered at the feet of the spirit of ultranationalism in the thirties, have now become the battlefields of flight between the races. The explosion of violence is taking place at every moment. The whole world should have been relieved by the dramatic end of the Cold war and by the fast pace of disarmament through the negotiations between the United States and Soviet Union. But the racial violence and animosity are not allowing anyone to pass a moment with the sigh of relief.

Kalyan Singh, the chief minister of Uttar Pradesh, knows very well that communal unrest and incitement would increase throughout the nation due to the feverish activities relating to the issue of the temple. It is clear that still he is ready to take that risk to win the support of the Hindu voters. Maybe he knows that in the face of the by-election, no party would take any course of action forsaking their policy of cautious movement. On the controversial issue of Ayodhya, the Congress Working Committee, after meeting for two hours, came out with a decision that cannot be considered as revolutionary. The Congress Working Committee failed to come up with a clear policy decision about how to stop the unpleasant and sometimes dangerous activities of BJP or Vishwa Hindu Parishad. It only appealed to the central government to take "necessary measures with a strong hand." Nobody expects the leaders of the Janata Party to come out with a courageous decision regarding this matter. The decision or say of the leftist parties has no bearing with respect to Uttar Pradesh. Is there really any possibility that the central government might overthrow the Uttar Pradesh government? Naturally the last place to go is the court of justice, which at least does not have to care about the result of the election. Or, the best hope would be that the BJP government of Uttar Pradesh would finally act sensibly and prudently and would try to cool down the incitement relating to the issue of the temple.

Reporter's Eyewitness Account

92AS0233C Calcutta AAJKAAL in Bengali 27 Oct 91
p 4

[Article by Debashis Bhattacharya: "BJP Will Lay the Foundation for Votes Alone"]

[Text] I went to Ayodhya to witness again what was going on there. On Thursday morning on my way to the controversial mosque from Hanumangiri, I met the volunteers of the Bajrang party who came from the

Deoria and Hardai districts. The Bajrang party workers imitated the slogans that were very popular in West Bengal in 1967. Wearing saffron lace around their head, they were giving slogans—"Bhajpa government is the instrument to build the temple." Bhajpa means Bharatia Janata Party [BJP]. After the formation of the BJP government in Uttar Pradesh on 24 June under the leadership of Kalyan Singh, I heard comments from the leftist circles that the Vishwa Hindu Parishad would not act or say anything about the temple at least for the time being. It is easy to say many things while not in power. But now being a ruling party, BJP would not move toward building the temple, in other words, would not take the risk. On 20 July, all the ministers of the Uttar Pradesh government went to Ayodhya and got the blessings of the saints. There chief minister Kalyan Singh said that he was promise-bound to build the Rama temple. In the same day, Ashok Singhal told the reporters that the state government has to clear all the hurdles to build the Rama temple before 18 November. After this, chief minister Kalyan Singh began to discuss the matter with veteran leaders like Advani and Bajpaye. The first step was taken after considering all the related issues, such as, the attitude of the central government, the court and all the legal complications. But the first step of the state government created a large hue and cry throughout the country. Many people are demanding that the Uttar Pradesh government be dismissed immediately. On the other hand, Vishwa Hindu Parishad is shouting—"Bhajpa government is the weapon of the Hindus." In a public meeting held at Gaziabad on 21 October, chief minister Kalyan Singh said, "In the last year, I was arrested and put in prison on my way to do Kar Seva (Voluntary work). This time the central government might overthrow the state government. The whole country will see that I took the bet of my chief minister-ship for the issue of building a temple in the birthplace of Rama. The chair of the chief minister cannot make any change to my ideas and thinking."

The First Step of the State Government

Mr. Alok Sinha, the secretary of tourism of the government of Uttar Pradesh, released a statement through a notification dated 7 October, that the state government has acquired almost 2.8 acres of land consisting of four plots east of the Babri mosque. This notification was published in two Hindi daily newspapers of Faizabad—JANAMORCHA and NAI LOG—on 9 and 10 October, respectively. It was stated that this acquirement took place in the interest of the development of tourism for the devotees who come to Ayodhya. That notification was released in the interest of public information. The state government would take the possession of the land by 26 October, if the court does not intervene. According to the plan, the BJP government, the owner of the land, then hands it over to Rama Janmabhumi Trust, controlled by the Vishwa Hindu Parishad. On that piece of land, the Vishwa Hindu Parishad would erect the proposed 270 feet tall Singhadwar (main gate), Gopuram (house of the cows) and Nrityagriha (dancing hall). It would take five

to six years to complete this project. In the meantime, psychological pressure would be put on the Muslim leaders. Thereafter, the state government would acquire the Babri mosque by introducing a bill in the state assembly. The reason would be—the mosque area was necessary to build the Rama Birthplace complex. It means, the land would be acquired in two stages. Then that land would again be handed over to Vishwa Hindu Parishad. The Parishad would build the Garvagriha (underground hall) in the Babri mosque area. The underground hall then would be joined with the proposed three parts of the temple—the main gate, house of cows, and dancing hall. This whole scenario has been planned by the leaders of RSS [Rashtriya Swayamsewak Sangh] and Vishwa Hindu Parishad and chief minister Kalyan Singh was asked to carry out the plan. It is known to the RSS leaders that if the land of the Babri mosque is acquired at this moment, the whole country will be submerged into a bloodbath. And the central government would dismiss the state government by applying article 356 of the constitution holding it responsible for the breaking of the law-and-order situation. The RSS leaders do not want to follow an indiscreet policy, rather, they want to take cautious steps after considering all the aspects. For this reason, the land would be acquired not in one stage, but in two stages. They would move slowly, and thereby, the strength of BJP would increase. Now, by laying the foundation of the main gate, they would fight the coming mini-general election of 16 November. After a year, they would reap the harvest in the mid-term election of Lok Sava by showing the pillar of the main gate. When the next parliamentary election starts, the dancing hall of the temple would be under construction. And the 21st century would set in during the course of building the underground hall of the temple. The RSS leaders are getting ready for such a longstanding game plan. To achieve this plan, if necessary, they would take two steps backward after taking one step forward. In the meantime, one Abdul Hasim filed a suit in the High Court challenging the legality of acquiring of the land. According to Hasim, the acquired land is the property of the Wakf Board. So the government's notification on 7 October about the acquisition of the land is illegal. On behalf of the state government V.K.S. Chaudhury, the Advocate General, pleaded that the land was acquired in the interest of the development of tourism. Two other cases are filed in the High Court against the acquirement of the land.

Breaking of the Temple and Worship of Land

At the time of the prime ministership of Rajiv Gandhi, the foundation stone for the temple was laid about 150 feet east of the Babri mosque on 9 and 10 November 1989. This was done on controversial land. Court cases have been going on for a long time on the issue of the ownership of the particular land and its adjacent places with the Sunni-Wakf Board. About 50 feet northwest of the foundation, there were three or four temple-cum-residences in a one-story building owned by Keshab Das, Falahari Baba, Ram Ashre Das, etc. The Vishwa

Hindu Parishad claimed that those temple-cum-residences were bought from those persons. On 18 October, the cadres of the Bajrang party demolished those houses in an attempt to clear the land for the building of the Rama temple. But the demolition process got stopped after breaking a half portion of the green-colored Sankat Mochan temple of Ram Ashre Das. Inside the Sankat Mochan temple, there is an eight-foot-tall idol of Bajrangbali, i.e., Hanumanji made of concrete. Binoy Katia, the leader of Bajrang party and the BJP M.P. [member of Parliament] from Faizabad, was present on the spot while this demolition process was going on 18 October. On Thursday Binoy was informed that the idol of Bajrangbali would be taken out of the temple and respectfully be placed in some other place. And after that the Sanka Mochan temple would be demolished. On Thursday, I saw the rubbish of the broken houses of Falahari Baba and Keshab Das was in the process of removal. Binoy informed me that no idol was there in those two temple-cum-residences. In the east of the Sankat Mochan temple, there is a white-colored temple of Sakshi Gopal. The leaders of the Vishwa Hindu Parishad are negotiating with the owner of the temple to buy that. The owner of the Sakshi Gopal temple lives in Rampur near Barauni in Bihar. On 21 November, the Parishad leaders laid the foundation stone after worshipping the land in a site, which is located just south of the Sakshi Gopal temple and 25 feet north of the place where the foundation was laid previously. Ashok Singhal and the BJP M.P.s Mohanta Abaidyanath and Mohanta Nriyagopal ceremoniously dug the land with spades. One of the pillars of the main gate would be built on the site where a foundation stone was laid on 9 November 1989. The second pillar would be erected on the site where a foundation was laid on 21 October. If the work is not halted for any reason, it will take at least one year to erect those two stone pillars. Chandrakant Sompura, the architect and engineer of the proposed temple, came from Ahmedabad for inspection of the site at Ayodhya on 21 and 22 October. A soil sample was taken for testing. The land would be thoroughly examined to determine if it could hold such large pillars of 'Ram Ki Pouri' near Sarju river.

On Thursday I saw 10 to 12 workers cleaning the rubbish. As soon as the injunction of the court would be lifted regarding the acquisition of the land, the Sakshi Gopal temple, Sankat Mochan temple, the house and exhibition site of Vishwa Hindu Parishad, one photo studio and seven or eight large trees would be demolished. Then the cadres of the Bajrang party would rule the place after cleaning the rubbish. RSS wants to make the land flat by demolishing the houses and by cutting the trees by 15 November. The next step would be taken after reviewing the results of the election of 16 November.

Supreme Court Orders Status Quo on Ayodhya

92AS0357A Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA
in English 16 Nov 91 pp 1, 11

[Text] New Delhi, 15 November—The supreme court today directed the UP [Uttar Pradesh] government not

to disturb the existing character of the structures located within the acquired land adjacent to the disputed Ram Janambhoomi and Babri mosque complex in Ayodhya.

While transferring to the Lucknow bench of the Allahabad high court three petitions challenging the validity of the state government's notifications for acquisition of land last month, the court order preserved the status quo on the 2.77 acre of land acquired by the UP govt. until the dispute was finally settled by the court.

The chief justice of India, Mr. Justice Ranganath Misra and Mr. Justice G.N. Ray, passed the order and declined to transfer the petitions in the high court to the apex court. One of the petitioners, Mr. Naveed Yar Khan, challenged the U.P. government's notifications issued on 7 and 10 October on the ground that the government's action was aimed at facilitating construction of the temple at the disputed site.

The notifications indicate that the land would be used for the promotion of tourism and provide facilities to a large number of pilgrims who are expected attend the religious celebrations on 17 November.

In another petition, Mr. Mohammad Aslam Bhure, while seeking quashing of the notification urged the court to restore the acquired land to its original owners. Mr. Bhure's counsel, Mr. M. M. Kashyap, submitted that the state government issued the notifications in violation of its undertaking to the high court that it did not intend to acquire land at the disputed site.

Earlier, a senior advocate, Mr. R. K. Garg, strongly pleaded for restoration of land to its original owners and for quashing of the notifications. He said on 31 October, some volunteers of the Vishwa Hindu Parishad who had come to Ayodhya to perform shilanyas of the temple stormed the mosque and unfurled the saffron flag atop the dome. All this happened in full view of the state administration.

Referring to the disturbing communal situation in the state, Mr. Garg expressed his concern on the communal riots in Varanasi and pleaded that the court must intervene to save the interests of minority community.

However, counsel for the state, Mr. Arun Jaitley, submitted that the wall which had been interfered with was about 20 to 30 metres away from the disputed shrine. He admitted that it was an old structure. Counsel said the two petitions pending in the high court could be decided by end of December.

Mr. Jaitley recalled the assurances given by the chief minister, Mr. Kalyan Singh, at the National Integration Council meeting on 2 November. The chief minister had assured that pending final adjudication on the disputes the government "will hold itself fully responsible for the protection of the Ram Janambhoomi-Babri mosque structure."

Mr. Kalyan Singh has also assured that the government was committed to honour the court's verdict on the

dispute and also on the validity of the notifications. Mr. Jaitley submitted that the chief minister had assured that efforts would be made to find an "amicable solution" to the problem.

The judges recorded Mr. Jaitley's submission and ordered that "we are of the view that even if these constructions are part of the acquired land nothing should be done with such constructions including the 'parikrama' and other facilities already existing on the land."

The judges also directed that old constructions like the outer wall, should not be tampered with. They strongly warned the government saying that it would be the total responsibility of the state government to maintain the status quo. The judges while recording the assurances by the chief minister, noted that "we shall take it that the state government is bound by this."

Lastly, the judges expressed the hope saying that "we trust that the nation will not feel agitated till the matter is adjudicate by the court."

Already the high court had directed the state government not to alienate or transfer the acquired land.

Split Between RSS, VHP Seen Over Mandir Construction

92AS0306C New Delhi JANSATTA in Hindi 22 Nov 91 pp 1, 10

[Article by Ram Bahadur Ray: "A Difference of Opinion Between RSS, VHP Over the Mandir Construction"]

[Text] New Delhi, 21 November—The tension between the Vishwa Hindu Parishad (VHP) and the Rashtariya Sawyam Sewak Sangh (RSS) over the temple construction is increasing. The RSS leader supports the strategy of going slow, while the VHP is in a hurry. The VHP is complaining against the RSS that it is stopping it from becoming more aggressive. This is giving the U.P. [Uttar Pradesh] government an opportunity to hide its failure. In order to control this tension, a series of joint meetings is being held.

Mr. Bala Sahib Devras, chairman of the RSS (who is like the supreme court of the party), is in Delhi to advise when necessary. Two days ago, on 11 November, Mr. Devras was present in the RSS office in Keshavkunj where the temple construction was discussed among the RSS, BJP [Bharatiya Janata Party], and VHP leaders. Mr. Devras did not participate in this meeting, however. Mr. Ashoka Singhal, secretary general of the VHP, accused the leadership for the recent humiliation in Ayodhya. He complained that they were risking their prestige by following the practice of "one step forward and ten steps backward movement."

This was the second occasion when the top leaders of these parties had met over the mandir issue. They had a similar meeting in August in which Dr. Murli Manohar

Joshi was not present. This time, Atal Bihari Bajpai was not there. The VHP is beginning to believe that there is a big difference in the talks and actions of the U.P. government. The government had decided in August that it would pass a bill to remove the barriers that impeded construction of the temple. No one knows why this decision was not implemented. One group believes that Devas of the RSS and Lal Karishna Advani of the BJP want to move in a ways that the U.P. government is not endangered. The other group is more aggressive.

The fact is that vanguard group of the VHP is greatly disappointed. This group is led by the Lok Sabha member Vinay Katyar. He had considered to send his resignation from the Lok Sabha directly to the party president on 8 November because of his disappointment. He was stopped from going to that extreme. On 18 October, the VHP decided to hold another yagya [religious ceremony with open kitchen] and volunteer action. It also discussed with the cooperating parties, however, when the work to demolish the houses around the temple area was started on 18-19 October, directions to go slow were issued from Delhi and Lucknow.

This angered the volunteers who had come from eastern Uttar Pradesh and Bihar. They were out of control because another of the VHP plan was spoiled and the VHP was losing its face in a defeat in the court due to the U.P. government's delay in action. The state government never articulated its stand on the temple construction issue so that it had some flexibility. One camp of the VHP has warned the U.P. chief minister that he might have to leave like Mulayam Singh. Kalyan Singh gets very angry at such warnings. Whatever he said after that show the internal dissension, indecision, and lack of direction within the BJP. The chief minister claims that if he had a free hand, he would find a solution. This also means that he is being controlled by a string and is just a puppet.

Kalyan Singh wants to continue his talks (that is what he claims) with the Muslims. However, the VHP leaders are determined that no talks are necessary after the amount of talks held during Chandra Shekhar's prime minister-ship. During that time, three chief ministers—Bhairon Singh Shekhawat, Mulayam Singh, Sharad Pawar—has played cooperating roles, and without any results.

The VHP had planned to start the construction leaving the disputed area alone. It also had a meeting in Ahmedabad to make plans for the construction. The chief architect of the temple was also present in that meeting. The plan was to start with the construction of the meeting place of the temple. It required 20 feet deep digging at the site first. Steel will not be used in the temple construction; the whole structure will be on stone.

The next phase included construction of the dance hall and the central chamber was to be built in the last phase. The disputed structure is situation at that site. This plan, however, was postponed. The VHP leadership is in a

dilemma how to start it all over again. No solution was arrived at in a meeting held day before yesterday (at Keshavnagar). This meeting was attended by RSS' Sheshadri and Rajju Bhairya; BJP's Dr. Joshi, Lal Karishna Advani, and Govindhacharya; and VHP's Ashoka Singhal, Vishnu Hari Dalmia, and Acharya Giriraj Kishore.

Articles View Controversy Over Babri Masjid

Necessarily Supreme Court Decision

92AS0326A Varanasi AJ in Hindi 26 Nov 91 p 6

[Article by Vijay Narayan: "The Supreme Court's Decision and the Ayodhya Dispute"]

[Text] The Supreme Court made clear in its 15 November order that the Mandir-Masjid issue will remain status quo until the Court makes a decision on it. The legal aspects of this issue are known to all sides involved, and if any side wants to find a solution outside of the legal parameters, then it has no alternative but to agree with the opposing parties. As for the rights of the courts, no other party but the court can help here. The Ayodhya Mandir-Masjid case has been in the courts since 1949. This is true not just for the Mandir Masjid case; in this country, even cases filed by average persons are dragged through the courts for two or three generations. According to science of reasoning, it is said that a case delayed in a court is a case denied.

In Allahabad High Court alone, over 500,000 cases are being tried. On an average, a case usually runs 10 years. If a court that hears cases filed by the people also has to take over a case like the Mandir-Masjid case, then it will take even more time. If there is anything at fault, it is our legal system. Nobody talks about reforming it. It is clear that different groups want to get this issue entangled in the legal process, and want to keep it alive as an emotional political issue.

It is not difficult to assume how far the political parties and the leaders of our country are removed from the reality. Last October, when the BJP [Bharatiya Janata Party] government of Uttar Pradesh [UP] took over the disputed property around the temple, the people felt that the temple would be built at that site. On 9 November 1989 during the Lok Sabha elections, the Congress (I) government of that time laid the temple foundation stone at that site. The courts gave an order against this action immediately.

This time around, when the BJP government took over this land, it knew well that it could not give the land to either group to build a temple or a mosque. The government can take over any property for public welfare; however, construction of a temple or a mosque does not come under this definition. Building a temple or a mosque is a religious deed, and the central or state government, regardless of what religion that government is aligned to, cannot touch it. Perhaps knowing this limitation, the UP government submitted an affidavit in

the high court regarding this land. In this affidavit, it promises not to transfer the disputed property to anyone. Instead, it will improve the property to providing shelter for travelers. Perhaps that is why BJP President Mr. Murli Manohar Joshi was forced to say that the temple would not be built on the confiscated land, but on the disputed land.

If the legal system is allowed to work after the Supreme Court order of 15 November, then the high court could issue its decision regarding the disputed property by next December. After this, the unsatisfied party can go to the Supreme Court, where we can only guess how long it will remain in limbo. As for the disputed area about the Mandir-Masjid, the case associated with it will have to travel the long route from the lower court to the high court, and finally to the Supreme Court. We cannot say how many years it will take.

The question arises: Do the political parties of our countries, especially those that have extremist stands on the Mandir-Masjid issue, want to open a dialogue on our legal system? Perhaps they do not want this, because they have lowered themselves to such depths that they have neither the time nor the ability to think seriously about profound issues.

After this time limit has been established by the Supreme Court, yet another question arises. Can a solution to this conflict be found outside the courts? It is important to discuss this question seriously, because this issue is related to emotions. The two major religious groups in the nation have started to blame each other for it.

Because of this mentality, there is an increase not only in communal tension, but there is also a new series of communal riots. Both religious groups have made this issue a question of prestige. The issue can be resolved outside the courts; however, it is important that the chasm created between the two religious groups be bridged first. All religious tension must be removed, and the Hindu and Muslim masses should be given the opportunity to find a resolution to this problem.

This issue can be resolved by mutual understanding outside the courts. The Vishwa Hindu Parishad or the Babri Masjid Committee may deny it, but the truth remains that they have met openly and secretly for a settlement. They used to sit together during the time of the Janata Dal government and had almost reached the point of signing an agreement. The resolution to the Mandir-Masjid conflict is not only important for peace between the Hindus and Muslims living in this country, but also is a must for the existence of the nation itself.

Foreign powers are very active in Kashmir and Punjab. The problems of Punjab and Kashmir cannot be solved at the government or political level. The people must be involved and be fully united. It is true that the political parties in our country could not agree on how to solve the Punjab and Kashmir problem; still, the resolution of Ayodhya's Mandir-Masjid problem would provide some guidelines to the political parties.

Muslims Seek Political Gain

92AS0326B New Delhi JANSATTA in Hindi 29 Nov 91
p 6

[Article by Suresh Avasthi: "The Difference Between Political and Religious Masjids"]

[Text] The Ram Janambhumi-Babri Masjid conflict has become a major problem. The roots of this conflict lie in the Muslim regime of the Middle Ages. This issue played an important role during the independence struggle as well. Therefore, in order to understand the facts of this conflict, we must take a look at the history of that time.

During the 500 years of Muslim rule, all Muslim sultans and emperors, except for Mohammed Tughlak, Akbar, and Dara Shikoh, had a discriminating attitude toward non-Islamic religions. The fact is that the political goals and plans of these rulers were clear. They wanted to totally destroy the ancient Indian culture and civilization that existed prior to Muslim rule. This way, they could have Islamized all of Indian society. The entire non-Muslim Indian community they considered infidels and wanted to change into an Islamic nation. They pushed the facade of Islamic religion in the background.

During this period, two types of mosques were built—religious and political. The religious mosques were those that were built according to Islamic religious procedure, with religious emotion and for religious purposes. Such mosques were built on undisputed and vacant land. The political mosques were those that were built against Islamic religious principles, and by destroying temples. They were built for the sole purpose of attaining specific political goals. One purpose for building these mosques was to break the religious faith of Hindus and make them feel helpless and powerless.

Dr. Rashiddudin Khan has written in his article, "The Heritage of Composite Culture" about the anti-Islamic deeds of these Islamic rulers. He wrote, "These heretical Islamic rulers were motivated by power, victory, wealth, and despotism. They have been praised inappropriately as heroes of imaginary religious or national wars. A close analysis of history shows that the wars were actually fought to establish empires and increase dynastic pride. These goals were hidden behind the false facade of religion."

The construction of political mosques was a similar task. This work was based on the politics of empire and power, and the political goals of the Islamic rulers were tied to the expansion of the empire and of their power. These mosques were built against Islamic religious principles. Even though these buildings looked like mosques from the outside, they were inappropriate for religious ceremonies from an Islamic perspective. Islam does not consider mosques built this way to be religious, and considers worship in such mosques to be useless. The fact is that these can be considered to be symbols of political and religious imperialism.

The discrimination practiced by the Muslim rulers against non-Muslim Indian society in the name of Islam had left a very bad image of Islam in the minds of Indian people. First it tried to stop and weaken the pre-Islamic rule Indian society, which followed the policy of collaboration and understanding. Second, Indian society, stuck in the struggle of life and death, hid its head like a turtle to protect its existence. This affected its mobility and started traditions such as the veil, child marriage, the caste system, and blind faith. The worship movement during this era tried to put an end to these bad traditions; however, because the feeling for existence was strong, the worship movement was not very effective. Third, it divided society and its ruler on the basis of religion, which led to the contemptuous and atrocious treatment of those who did not follow the religion of the ruler. The rulers used force to eliminate those who did not accept Islam. Fourth, the Islam presented by the rulers to the people was not the actual Islam. As a result, the people began to consider Islam as a narrowminded, intolerant, and merciless religion. Overall, this general impression made Indian Muslim society intolerable and fundamentalist. This Islamic society considered anti-Islamic deeds in the name of Islam to be part of Islam.

Because of this image, people in non-Muslim societies started the tendency to be suspicious of the Muslims and avoid them. Fifth, the Islamic regime formed the basis of relations between Muslims and non-Muslims on mutual mistrust. Because of this tendency, relations between Hindus and Muslims are usually not of good will or brotherhood. Sixth, it did not let the humanistic image be the basis of the relationship between Muslims and non-Muslims. Islam recognizes one god that is merciful, which gives strength when one does good deeds, and whose believers' duties are completed by God himself. Seventh, the Islamic rulers also blocked the waves of mixed religion and culture started by Sufis, poets like Abdul Rahim Khan, and rulers like Mohammed Tughlak, Akbar, and Dara Shikoh. They did not allow average Indian Muslims to be attracted to it.

The British expanded the policy of "divide and conquer" based on the Muslim ruler's mentality and the mutual relations between Muslim and non-Muslim groups. They were successful in blocking the birth of national unity. As a result, Jinnah was successful in making the two-nation theory popular among the Muslim masses, in dividing India, and establishing Pakistan as an Islamic nation. It is important to mention here that Jinnah was able to get Muslim support on a wide scale, in spite of opposition by such leaders as Mahatma Gandhi, Jawaharlal Nehru, Maulana Azad, Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, and Rafi Ahmed Kidwai. Jinnah was not successful because he was religious or because he was knowledgeable about Islam. He was successful because he used political goals, strategies, Muslim mentalities, and relationships between Muslims and non-Muslims adopted by the Islamic rulers of the Middle Ages as the basis of his two-nation theory. Jinnah explained the two-nation idea in these words: "It is completely clear

that Hindus and Muslims are inspired by two different forces in history. Their epics are different, and their heroes are different. Usually one's hero is another's antagonist, and this makes their victories and defeats different. Our 1,200 years of history show that we have failed to establish any unity between these two, and it supports the theory that India has been divided into two parts for centuries—Hindu India and Muslim India."

At the cost of all national leaders and imminent independence, Jinnah got wide support from Indian Muslims and was successful in his goals to establish Pakistan, illustrating this very truth. The traditional mentality and mutual relations that were started by the Muslim rulers of the Middle Ages have not died even in the present world, and are still active. Jinnah's success clearly shows that Indian culture, which is known for mixing various civilizations, failed to attract the majority of the Muslims to establish a feeling of nationality among them.

The major reason for this appears to be the fact that most of India's Muslims have never condemned the non-Islamic deeds committed in the name of Islam during the Middle Ages. Instead, they insist on calling it Islam, and the leadership that believed in a mixed culture failed to influence the Muslim mentality. Because of this failure, the leadership became more active in its attempts to impose the condition of the mentality of unwilling Muslims on the non-Muslim population.

On 15 August 1947, the Hindu society, with its thousands of years of culture and civilization as a heritage, obtained political independence as a religious group. All societies in the world, after getting independence from foreign rule, take steps to establish the culture that was distorted during foreign rule. After independence, a similar process removed the symbols of British imperialism. This is not like the Mandir-Masjid conflict in India. The whole issue is centered around the political mosques, which were built against Islam's religious principles, and that the Hindus have never forgotten. It is also true that it is not impossible to rectify all old problems; however, it is possible as a symbol.

It would have been appropriate that these political mosques, built against Islamic tradition and for demonstrating the power of empires, and whose conflicts have been resolved since the middle ages, be discussed in openminded talks. It should not have been left for resolution using democratic methods or power politics, also known as the power of votes.

Importance of Study of Sanskrit Examined

92AS0238B Varnasi AJ in Hindi 27 Oct 91 p 6

[Editorial: "India Has No Existence Without Sanskrit]

[Text] There is a vast store of Indian culture and knowledge in Sanskrit. "India would not be India without Sanskrit," to quote Mr. Nehru. Vice President Dr. Shanker Dayal Sharma outlined a Sanskrit educational plan in a glorious and zealous speech made on the

occasion of the silver jubilee of the Nandal Bajoriya Sanskrit Mahavidyalya at the Hanuman Parsad Blind School in Varanasi. He gave several examples about his life and his inspirations, and said that every child should be able to read Sanskrit. His comments clearly indicated his belief that Sanskrit education should be compulsory in India. Referring to the Sanskrit Board of the Indian Government, he said that the question of a Sanskrit education is very important. He declared its removal from the three-pronged education to be inappropriate and emphasized that Sanskrit should be taught along with Hindi in middle school. The fact is that Sanskrit is the language of culture, and instruction during early childhood will help to improve life. In this context, the vice president remembered his childhood days and said that Sanskrit education was provided at that time, but it has now disappeared. He mentioned the Panchatantra especially, and said that the reading and study of this important book helps in character development. The vice president's comments are not part of his routine talks, but come from his heart.

We cannot even imagine anything about India without the Vedas, the Ramayana, and the Mahabharata. Pundit Jahwarhalal Nehru, in his speech in memory of Azad, declared the Sanskrit language and its literature unique. The vice president said that a Sanskrit education would aid our nation's progress, because the language had not only ancient knowledge but also modern science and technology. He pointed to Vedic power and said that Sanskrit is very appropriate for computer programming. His comment that Sanskrit literature is rampant with ideas about human welfare carries a lot of weight. It is not narrow or biased. Sanskrit education is also very important because this language is good for the welfare of the world. Attention should also be given to a Sanskrit requirement to earn a living. He said that those who become scholars of Sanskrit should receive help in earning a living. He did not consider it appropriate that they be used only for telling stories and for worship. The

students of Sanskrit should be naturally curious about the purpose for learning this language. In addition to Sanskrit, if modern subjects such as mathematics, science, and art are also taught in this medium, then it would be very useful. The Center and the state education departments should pay attention to it and implement such a system soon.

Vice President Shanker Dayal Sharma has clearly said that progress in learning Sanskrit and its literature is the progress of our nation. The reason for this is that Sanskrit literature does not only reflect Indian culture and civilization, but also includes some very interesting descriptions of nature and human development. The Indian "jungle culture" helped develop such civilizations so that it was an inspiration for the development of great people. His comment that Sanskrit has given the world philosophy, science, mathematics, and technology is very true and thought provoking. Almost all languages evolved from Sanskrit. Our national language was also born from Sanskrit. That is why 50 percent of the Sanskrit vocabulary is used in Hindi. All Indian languages have borrowed vocabulary from Sanskrit to enrich their literature. In this way, Sanskrit helps in our cultural and national unity. That is why, in the 1938 Simla Hindi Literature Conference, it was decided that Hindi would be kept close to Sanskrit. The reason for this is that Sanskrit syntax is easy to understand. The vice president pointed out a matter of concern in his speech. He said that there were efforts to eliminate Sanskrit words from Tamil in Tamil Nadu. This is not appropriate from a national point of view. In this context, he also referred to Truvalluvar and said that we should also study him. He said that Truvalluvar had the same thoughts as those of Sanskrit literature. He added that human thoughts and aesthetic feelings were expressed in all Indian languages, and advised that we keep that in mind. In different parts of the world, Sanskrit language and literature is being studied and analyzed, and we should be alert and aware of it.

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